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OF
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Frontispiece

THE LIBRARY
OF
TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

BY
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. the youth
Who loved the Poet, hoped to see him set
Within the Library of Trinity,
One great man more o' the house, among the great,
Who grace that still Valhalla, ranged in row,
Along the chequered marbles of the floor,
Two stately ranks—to where the fragrant limes
Look thro' the far end window, cool and green.
A band it is, of high companionship,—
Chief, Newton, and the broad-browed Verulam,
And others only less than these in arts
Or science; names that England holds on high.

PREFACE.

THE substance of the following pages originally appeared in "Notes and Queries" in 1881 and 1882. The then editor, the late Mr Turle, conceived the idea of a series of papers on collegiate and other Libraries; and several Librarians contributed more or less full descriptions of the Libraries under their care. One of these, that on Eton College Library, by the Rev. F. St John Thackeray, has since been republished in collected form.

While I have corrected occasional slips here and there, and have made a few slight additions, I have not, with one exception, made any material change in the present volume, as there has been no very important accession to the Library during the last few years. The appearance, however, of the great work on the *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*

by the late Professor Willis and Mr J. W. Clark, now Registry of the University, has enabled me to add some very interesting details as to the buildings of the earlier libraries of the College, as well as of the present Library.

To have rewritten the whole book would doubtless have been to improve it in many ways; but this was a more ambitious flight than I was prepared for. A professed history, written *de novo*, of so large and so old a Library, would be a very formidable undertaking, and would of necessity grow to a very much greater size than the present small volume. Moreover, it was obvious that to dwell on elements in the Library which might fairly be assumed to be common to all great Libraries would be superfluous, though no one knows better than myself how large is the mass of topics of interest which perforce I have omitted. However, *ex pede Herculem*.

As regards the illustrations, for the frontispiece and the four fac-similes of MSS. I am indebted to the skill of Mr A. G. Dew-Smith, of Trinity College. For the woodcut representing the interior of the north-east corner of the Library, which forms the tail-piece of chapter ii, I have to thank the Syndics of the University Press, who kindly lent the block which had already been used for Prof. Willis and Mr Clark's book.

It will be noticed that the picture represents a state of things before the dwarf-cases had been introduced into the Class.

The tail-pieces to the chapters, other than chapter ii, are from drawings by Miss Ellen Nichols. That to Chapter i represents the old Library of the College during the seventeenth century; the others are from the carving of Grinling Gibbons, still one of the most charming ornaments of the Library. The remaining illustrations represent the building itself under various aspects, and the Byron Statue.

The verses at the back of the title-page are from a poem by the late Tom Taylor, sometime Fellow of Trinity. It originally appeared in the pages of *Punch*, when the bust of Tennyson, which had been given to the College, was, by the Master and Seniors, ordered to be placed in the *vestibule* of the Library, and not in the Library itself. It was held in those days that the bust of no living person might be placed within the sacred precincts.

I feel strongly that the very richness and abundance of the materials at my disposal makes it difficult to do anything like justice to it; and I can but offer my little volume as a very humble contribution to the subject. To a Trinity man, at any rate, who may fairly claim, like one of old, that he is

οὐκ ἀσήμεν πόλεως πολίτης, it will, I hope, be not without interest to learn something of the history and contents of a Library, which all members of the College agree in viewing as so splendid a possession.

R. S.

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY,

Aug. 28, 1891.

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The Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY.

THE name of Trinity College carries us back to 1546, when, in the last year of his reign, Henry VIII. determined to develop an existing College, King's Hall, into a larger foundation, by associating with it the neighbouring College of Michaelhouse and sundry smaller hostels, and further by largely endowing the united foundation from the spoils of the monasteries. Michaelhouse and King's Hall were founded in 1324 and 1337¹ respectively, and each, it need not be said, possessed a library of its own. It might therefore have been hoped that Trinity Library would contain numerous treasures inherited from them. Such, however, as we shall see, is unfortunately not the case.

¹ This is the date of the actual foundation by Edward III., in pursuance of an uncompleted plan of his father; but the first appointment of a Warden of the King's Scholars goes back to 1316.

As regards Michaelhouse, very little seems to be known of any of the buildings, but we find Richard Holme, who was Warden of King's Hall from 1418 to 1422, leaving a large sum of money for the repair of the Library of Michaelhouse, and also many valuable theological books¹. These were of course all MSS., but none of them, or indeed any of the Michaelhouse MSS., can be traced in the present Library. As regards printed books, two or three once belonging to Michaelhouse still remain, with the inscription, "Sum domus Michaelis," or some similar note on the first leaf. One of these (the only one whose earlier history is traceable) is Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (Argentinae, 1503), which is inscribed "Liber sci Michaelis ex dono W. Filey." This donor (B.A. 1505-6) is mentioned by Fox (*Acts and Monuments*, Vol. III. p. 380, ed. 1684) as a prominent opponent of Latimer at Cambridge. Fox calls him Master of Michaelhouse, but this is apparently an error. Dr Filey lived to see his college absorbed in the new foundation, and died in 1549.

King's Hall, like Trinity College, had an old and a new library, the latter, which was built partly by subscription², being begun in 1416-7 and finished in 1421-2. Long before this, however, in 1393, we find an allusion to the older Library in the record of a

¹ Willis-Clark, II. 399.

² *Ibid.* p. 441.

bargain between King's Hall and its next neighbour, the Hospital of St John. Again, in the account-book for 1394-5, is a charge of five shillings for twenty-three chains for the books and a like sum for "one lock and thirty-three keys," the latter being for the Master and thirty-two Fellows¹. At the beginning of the same volume is a list of the books then in the Library of King's Hall, eighty-seven in number, arranged under the heads of *libri grammaticales, dialectici, de medicina, juris civilis, juris canonici, theologie*, and *juris canonici* again. The new Library, as we have said, was finished in 1421-2; and in the account-book for that year are numerous charges for the interior fittings, and also for binding, with various skins for the same.

As regards the position of the two buildings, Mr Clark points out that the older Library was evidently on the north side of the inner quadrangle of King's Hall, that is, the side adjoining the Hospital of St John. The case of the new Library is less certain, but it was probably on the west side of the same quadrangle, so that it would practically coincide with the line of rooms which now look down the Bowling-Green².

What then have we inherited from the King's Hall Library? The account-books of the College still survive in great part, in twenty-six folio volumes; but of all

¹ Willis-Clark, p. 442, n. 1.

² *Ibid.* p. 459.

other MSS. and of the printed books there is not, so far as I am aware, a single representative in the present Library.

With the absorption of the various earlier foundations to form Trinity College, great changes were of course inevitable, and we must now speak of the original library of the new foundation. It has generally been stated that this was commenced in the reign of Queen Mary, because in an order issued by Elizabeth (December, 1560), for providing materials for building part of the College, she refers to the "librarye lately begonne in the time of our late deere syster Quene Marye." Mr Clark shews, however, that for some time after Queen Mary's reign, the Library existed only in idea, for in a plan of the Great Court, now preserved in the Library, and probably made about 1595, two rival sites are suggested for the Library, the dimensions of which shew that neither was ultimately chosen. Moreover in 1556 Dr John Christopherson, Master of the College, bequeathed his books and MSS. to the Library "so sone as it shall be builded": and Dr Robert Beaumont, also Master, leaves in 1567, £40 to "y^e buildinge of a Librarie¹."

When this Library was actually begun it is impossible to say exactly, though doubtless somewhere between

¹ Willis-Clark, II. 480.

1592 and 1598, for which years the Bursar's books have not been preserved, and finished between 1599 and 1601. It was a room measuring 75 feet by 30, and formed the uppermost floor of that part of the Great Court which stands between the Clock-Tower and the Master's Lodge. It may fairly be conjectured, but is not certainly known, that, for the first half century of its existence, Trinity College made use of the Library of King's Hall built in 1421-2.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, as we have said, the books were transferred to their new home; and here, as we shall see, they remained for nearly a hundred years. Once indeed they were in special peril, when in 1665 a fire destroyed the roof of the Library, but happily did no further damage.

If we now pass from the building to the books, we find that the history of the Library is mainly a record of successive donations. Doubtless the troublous days of the middle of the sixteenth century would not be favourable to the development of the Library; but these once over, it is clear that the growth was rapid. Among the earliest donors to the Library at this period three may be specially singled out: (1) Sir Edward Stanhope (elected Fellow in 1564), the founder of the Librarianship, the first holder of the office being William Hickes, appointed in 1609. Among the books bequeathed to

the Library by Sir Edward Stanhope, one is particularly deserving of note, a magnificent copy on vellum of the *Sarum Missal*, printed by Pynson in 1500. (2) Thomas Skeffington (elected Fellow in 1571), who bequeathed a large number of books, in every volume of which is written the loyal motto, *ἀντιπελαργίαν servo*. (3) Dr Thomas Nevile, the munificent head of the College from 1593 to 1615, by whom the cloisters were built, yet preserving his name, Nevile's Court. Among the many books given by Dr Nevile to the Library may specially be mentioned the great MS. known as the Canterbury or Eadwin's Psalter, from the name of the writer, a monk of Canterbury in the early part of the twelfth century. In this is the threefold Latin Psalter (Roman, Gallican, and Jerome's), and an interlinear Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French gloss. Every Psalm is adorned with its special illustration, very similar to those found in the Utrecht Psalter.

Among other donors whose names it will suffice to mention were John Christopherson (Master, 1553-58), William Bill (Master, 1551-53, 1558-61), Robert Beaumont (Master, 1561-67), and John Whitgift (Master, 1567-77), afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

Passing now to the seventeenth century, we may note the following important benefactors to the Library: Sylvius Elwis (formerly Chaplain; his name occurs on

the list of Chaplains as late as 1637; the books for the two following years are missing, and in that for 1640 the name does not appear); Thomas Whalley, Fellow (elected in 1591), and Vice-Master, who left in 1637 his books and £100 to the College; Dame Anne Sadleir¹, daughter of Sir Edward Coke, who gave a valuable collection of books and coins; Dr James Duport (Dean of Peterborough, 1664-79), who left two thousand volumes of books to the College; and Dr John Pearson (Master, 1662-73), afterwards Bishop of Chester, to whom we owe the well-known *Exposition of the Creed*. Besides these, good Bishop John Hacket (elected Fellow, 1614; Bishop of Lichfield, 1661-70) must not be lost sight of. This worthy prelate not only presented a number of books to the Library, in each of which is pasted his portrait with the wholesome motto, "Serve God and be chearful," but also rebuilt for the College Garret's Hostel (now Bishop's Hostel, in memory of his liberality), the rents of the new building being devoted to Library purposes for ever.

One more name may suffice, that of Sir Henry Newton, who assumed the surname of Puckering, on becoming his uncle's heir. He was the son of Sir Adam Newton, who had been tutor to Henry, Prince of

¹ The spelling of the name varies, but Dame Sadleir herself always spells it as above.

Wales. Sir Henry Puckering gave to the College in 1690-1, a most valuable collection of books, including many French and Italian works. Of one special treasure of this collection, I shall speak subsequently. During the mastership of Dr Barrow, the successor of Dr Pearson, the need of more room for the rapidly increasing Library began to be greatly felt; and, mainly through Dr Barrow's exertions, large funds were raised to erect a new building. It is said that Dr Barrow had tried to induce the Heads of Houses to favour the plan of building a Theatre for the University which should rival the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford; failing in this attempt, he resolved to shew how well-founded were his hopes of support, by erecting a building equally grand in its way in his own College; and accordingly, so says the tradition, himself with his servants staked out the ground that very afternoon.

He appealed for help to present and former members of the College, and his appeal was heartily responded to. In the subscription list, a very lengthy one, his name appears as a donor of £100; we also find Dr James Duport giving £200, Dr Thomas Gale £60, the Hon. John Montagu (afterwards Master) £228, the Hon. John North (afterwards Master) £100, Bishop Pearson £228, Roger Pepys (brother of the diarist) £20, Archbishop Sancroft £100, and the Duke of Somerset £500.

Sir Christopher Wren was chosen as the architect, and gave his services gratuitously. It is worth noting that Wren's original plan was to have made a circular library, 65 feet in width and 90 feet in height, to which, access was to have been given by "a double staircase leading to a hexastyle portico¹." This plan, however, was not approved of, and drawings from which the present stately building was erected were accordingly made².

The work was actually begun on Feb. 23, 1675-6; in 1680, the lead was bought for the roof; in 1685-6, timber was bought for the flooring; before the end of 1685, the bookcases were begun; the marble pavement was laid down in 1688; the masons were finally paid off before the end of 1690; between March 1691 and March 1693, the carved work, of flowers, fruit, and coats of arms by Grinling Gibbons, was added; and in 1694-5, the books were moved in. The whole cost was £16,425; though of this sum a slight amount defrayed certain work in the neighbouring part of the College.

The old Library was now broken up into a set of rooms; these, to the present generation will long be

¹ Willis-Clark, II. 533.

² The original drawings of Wren, including those of the rejected circular design, are now preserved in the Library of All Souls' College, Oxford. An interesting account of them, with Wren's explanation at full length, is given in the *Builder* for Aug. 11, 1860.

associated with the honoured name of Adam Sedgwick, who lived in them for many years and died in them in 1873.

It will be convenient to add at this stage that the Library is a room of 200 feet in length, 42 in width and 37 in height; lighted by thirteen windows on each side, and one at each end. That at the South end, though its effect is not unpleasing, is a curious mass of anachronism. To bring in the two most famous sons of Trinity, we have here Newton presented to George III., by a female figure apparently representing Fame, while Bacon sits by as though recording the fact. This window, which is from a design by Cipriani, was set up in 1774-5.

The Library evidently became one of the "lions" of Cambridge, and different royal visitors were taken to inspect it: Charles II. and his Queen in 1681, while the building was yet in progress; William III. in 1689, when the work was nearly completed; Queen Anne in 1705; and George I. in 1717.

Besides these royal personages, who have not left their opinion as to the Library on record, it is interesting to note the impression left on one or two observant visitors of less exalted rank. Abraham de la Pryme, then an undergraduate at St John's, notes in his diary for Jan. 1, 1693, "I went lately to take a view of the new

library of Trinity College in this University, and it is indeed a most magnificent piece of work within and it is very well built throughout" (*Diary*, p. 27). On Ralph Thoresby's first visit (May 16, 1695) the books cannot at any rate have been completely moved in, for he speaks of "the stately library, which is the noblest *case* of all, but not yet furnished" (Vol. I. 294). The most interesting account, however, is that of Zach. Conr. von Uffenbach, who visited Cambridge in July and August, 1710. He gives a detailed description of the building, and speaks at length of the MSS. which he carefully examined. The internal fittings pleased him:—"It is very neat, made like little closets—an excellent device, because in the first place you can stow away many more books, on both sides and on the walls; and in the next place, it is good for those who study there, as they are not put out by seeing others facing them¹." The arrangement of the books, however, did not please him, "as it is not according to subjects...but according to benefactors, as they have been bequeathed. This is probably done to allure others by such good examples." Gibbons' carving struck him with admiration, as well it might; "the carving and the foliage on the panels and bookcases is so slender, that it quivers when you touch the panelling below²."

¹ Prof. Mayor's trans. p. 125.

² *Ibid.* p. 153.

It is pleasant to think that we may connect with the early days of the "new Library" two men unsurpassed in their several ways, Newton and Bentley, the latter of whom was Master from 1700 to 1742. Of both of these, numerous relics exist in the Library. Of Newton, I may specially note a large volume of autograph letters of Newton himself, and of Cotes, his successor as Lucasian Professor, who superintended the publication of the second edition of the *Principia*. From one letter in this volume we learn that even the great Sir Isaac dabbled in South Sea stock.

The history of Bentley's troublous College life is well known from his memoirs by Bishop Monk and Professor Jebb, and the correspondence published by Bishop Wordsworth. In spite of his prodigious learning, it is to be most devoutly hoped that the College will never see such a master again. A great mass of papers, printed and MS., bearing on Bentley's numerous conflicts and having rather a local interest, is preserved in the Library. Besides this, however, there is much of great value collected or noted by him with a view to his projected edition of the Greek Testament. These were bequeathed in the first instance to Richard Bentley, nephew of the "awful Aristarch," and from him the College received most of what it now possesses. Among these treasures are such things as Mico's and Rulotta's

collations of the Codex Vaticanus, Wetstein's collation of the Codex Ephræmi, the famous Paris palimpsest, and the Codex Augiensis itself, a Græco-Latin MS. of St Paul's Epistles of the ninth century.

The same steady increase which we have seen characterizing the seventeenth century is carried on in the eighteenth, during which a large number of gifts of considerable value were made to the Library. It will be most convenient to go through the chief of these, as before, in chronological order.

John Laughton, an intimate friend of Sir Isaac Newton, Librarian of Trinity Collège (1669-73), and afterwards Librarian of the University, and Canon of Lichfield and of Worcester, left at his death, in 1712, a very large collection of books to the Library. In 1727 came a large bequest from Edward Rud, formerly Fellow and rector of North Runton, in Norfolk. His *Diary*, mostly written during the time that he was a resident Fellow, was edited a few years ago from the MS. in the Library by Dr Luard for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and will well repay perusal for the light it throws on university life at that time. A few years later came the very important collection of Gale MSS., still forming a separate class in the Library. These had been amassed by Dr Thomas Gale, Dean of York, after whose death, in 1702, they passed to his son

Roger, who gave them to the College in 1738. Of the contents of this very varied collection I shall not speak at present, beyond mentioning the MS. of the Lexicon of Photius, from a transcript of which by Porson an edition was published in 1822. A list of the Gale MSS. will be found in Bernard's *Catalogus MSS. Angl. et Hib.*

Other donors to the Library in this period were Dr John Paris, Senior Fellow, who bequeathed his books in 1742; Beaupré Bell, of Beaupré Hall, in Norfolk, who was evidently animated by a very warm feeling to his College, to which, in 1745, he left a large number of books and a sum of money; John Colbatch, Bentley's keen adversary (*ob.* 1749); and Robert Smith (Master, 1742-68), founder of the prizes which bear his name. In 1779 a rare piece of good fortune befell the Library, in the gift on the part of Mr Edward Capell, the Shakspearian critic, of his valuable collection of books, consisting mainly of early editions of Shakspeare, precious folios and still more precious quartos, and of Elizabethan and other early English literature. In compliance with Mr Capell's express desire, it was ruled by the Master and Seniors (June 26, 1779) that none of these books should ever be allowed to leave the Library; and this wise rule, strictly adhered to, has ensured the integrity of the collection.

Besides the accessions of books above mentioned, an event of a different kind in the history of the Library in the eighteenth century must not be overlooked—the robbery of books by Henry Justice. This unhappy man was a Fellow-Commoner of the College, and had removed a large number of the Library books to his rooms in the Temple, where, on a search-warrant being obtained, they were found. The main line of his defence at his trial (March, 1736) was a curious one, that being a Fellow-Commoner, he was a member of the foundation, and therefore could not be said to steal when he himself was in a certain sense part owner. Such a view was, of course, entirely untenable, and Justice was transported (see *Proceedings at Session of Peace and Oyer and Terminer for the City of London and County of Middlesex*, March, 1736). Among the books thus stolen were a copy of the Complutensian Polyglot, and of the Aldine Bible of 1518, besides a large number of classical and archæological works. Some remarks as to the family of Henry Justice will be found in Davies's *Memoir of the York Press*, p. 193.

During the present century the Library has gone on steadily increasing, both by gifts and purchases. In the year 1825 came three large accessions in the books bequeathed by Prof. Dobree, the successor of Porson and Monk, and by the Rev. Robert Hole, late Senior

Fellow, and those given by the Ven. R. W. Evans, late Archdeacon of Westmoreland. In 1831, however, came a bequest of exceptional value in the books that had been collected by Dr Matthew Raine (B.A. 1782), formerly Fellow of the College and Master of the Charterhouse, which were first left to his brother Jonathan Raine (B.A. 1787), also formerly Fellow, and which came on the death of the latter into the possession of the College. This exceedingly precious collection contains a large number of early printed Greek books, Aldine and otherwise. Thus, of Greek Aldines—confining ourselves, for the sake of brevity, to those printed in the fifteenth century—we have, *e.g.*, the grammars of Theodorus Gaza, &c. (1495), Theocritus, Hesiod, &c. (1495), a very fine copy of Aristotle (1495–98), the *Thesaurus*, &c. (1496), the Greek grammar of Urbanus Bolzanus (1497), the Greek Psalter (1497 or 1498) Aristophanes (1498), *Epistolæ Græcæ* (1499). Of Greek books, other than Aldines, printed at Venice in the fifteenth century, there are in the Raine collection the Phalaris, &c. (1498), and Æsop (1498) printed by Barth. Justinopolitanus and his partners, and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (1499), Simplicius (1499), and Ammonius (1500), printed by Calliergus. Of Greek books printed at Florence in the above-mentioned period is the Homer of 1488, and most of the Greek books printed by Laur.

Francisci de Alopa, as the *Anthologia* (1494), Apollonius Rhodius (1496), Callimachus (c. 1496), Euripides (c. 1496), *Gnomæ* (c. 1496), also the Lucian (1496), printed apparently with the same types as those of the *scholia* to the Callimachus mentioned above. To the above list may also be added Isocrates (Milan, 1493). I may note that the copy of Callimachus is that which was sold at the Duke of Roxburghe's sale in 1813, where it fetched £63 (see Dibdin, *Bibl. Spenc.* i. 291). To go on enumerating the chief books of so rich a bequest would occupy too much space, and I will content myself with noting a beautiful copy of the Complutensian Polyglot, finer and taller than the one which excited Justice's cupidity, a copy of the Aldine Greek Bible of 1518, and among books not Greek a copy of Cicero *De Officiis*, printed at Mentz in 1466 by Fust and Schœffer, the oldest printed book in the library.

Passing along in chronological order, we have in 1834 the bequest of the Rev. Daniel Petteward, a very loyal son of Trinity, who, in addition to the large collection of books, left also (besides two plain ones of lava and of Devonshire marbles respectively) the beautiful table of varied Italian and other marbles that forms so pleasing an ornament to the upper end of the Library. In 1842 Archdeacon Wrangham left the College 1,000 volumes of pamphlets, of the most

varied description imaginable. For an interesting account of this distinguished man and of his dispute with Trinity Hall see Gunning's *Reminiscences*, vol. II. pp. 12 *sqq.*, ed. 2.

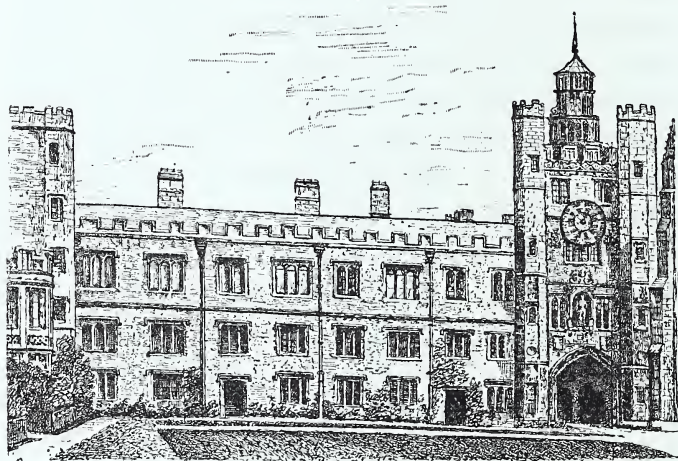
In 1855 Mrs Hare, widow of Archdeacon Julius Hare, late Fellow of the College, presented to the Library, in pursuance of her late husband's wishes, 4950 volumes, a very large number being of German theology and philosophy. One hardly knows whether to be amused or angry at the way in which (so at least it is currently reported) the College missed the chance of receiving an exceedingly fine collection, one part of which would have given us for French what the Hare books did for German. It is said that the possessor of this collection, a distinguished Fellow of the College, now deceased, communicated to a brother Fellow, who has also passed away, his intention of bequeathing his books to the College. This laudable purpose was balked by the answer, "Nonsense! there are far more books in the Library already than any one can read." The result was that on the owner's death the collection was sold and dispersed.

In 1863 came one of those great gifts which may fall to some libraries once or twice in the course of their history, to most never. In that year died the Rev. William Grylls (B.A. 1808), a former scholar of the

College, who had, through a long life, industriously collected rare and choice works. Being a bachelor he chose the College as the heir to his books, attaching to his bequest the condition that the volumes should be kept together as a distinct collection. In order to fulfil this requirement, the central floor of the Library, heretofore left intact, was edged on each side with dwarf oak cases, which now contain the 9,600 volumes taken of Mr Grylls's Library, as well as the Hare books and some others. The Grylls collection, besides a large number of valuable works of reference of the choicer kind, is especially strong in early printed and rare books. Of fifteenth-century books, for instance, there are rather more than three hundred, none of which, however, is English printed. By way of illustration, and for the sake of brevity, I will note the books in the Grylls collection due to two famous printers, Arn. Pannartz (with or without Conr. Sweynheym) at Rome, and Vindel. de Spira at Venice. Of the former there are Roderici Sanctii *Speculum Vitæ Humanæ*, 1468; Cypriani *Epist. et Opusc.*, 1471; Suetonius, *De XII. Cæsaribus*, 1472; Statii *Sylvæ*, &c., 1475; Thom. de Aquino *De Veritate Cath. Fidei*, 1475; Josephi *Historiarum Libri VII.*, 1475. Of the latter there are Tacitus, 1469-70; Sallust, 1470; Quintus Curtius, 1470-71; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, &c., 1471;

Valerius Maximus, 1471; Martial (c. 1471); Boccaccio, *Genealogiæ Deorum Gentilium*, 1472; Strabo, 1472.

Since the year 1863 a steady stream of donations has poured into the Library, of which I shall only mention the 1,000 volumes from the collection of Dr Whewell, formerly Master, whose name will long be indissolubly connected with the college of which he was for many years so distinguished and so munificent a head.



CHAPTER II.

THE MANUSCRIPTS.

THE total number of volumes in the Library is about 80,000, of which 1918 are MSS. These MSS. are disposed in three of the four locked compartments, the remaining one being devoted to early printed books.

Beginning with Oriental MSS., there is an interesting collection of Sanskrit MSS., eighty-eight in number, of which there is a printed critical catalogue by Prof. Aufrecht. These MSS. are, with a few exceptions, a comparatively recent acquisition on the part of the College, and are mostly copies of older MSS., made about the end of the last or the beginning of the present century. The mass of them formerly belonged to Mr John Bentley, author of *An Historical View of the Hindu Astronomy*, at whose death they came into the possession of Dr Mill, late Regius Professor of Hebrew and Fellow of Trinity College. From his executors the collection was acquired for the College in 1858. There are also a few Pali MSS., of which, besides those mentioned in Prof. Aufrecht's catalogue, some were given a few

years ago by the late Mr R. C. Childers, the accomplished editor of the well-known *Pali Dictionary*.

Another collection of Oriental MSS., consisting mainly of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian MSS., the mass of which once belonged to Dr Thomas Gale, Dean of York (*ob.* A.D. 1702), may be found described in the critical catalogue of the late Prof. E. H. Palmer. In this are numerous copies of the Koran, and of works on Arabian theology, philosophy, and mathematics. Two MSS. in the collection may claim a passing notice: one is a beautifully illuminated copy of the works of the Persian poet Jami, written A.D. 1531. One of the numerous large illustrations in this volume has attracted some attention as being a perfect representation of the favourite modern game of polo, an enthusiast for which recently obtained the leave of the College to have the page photographed. The other MS. is in Carshunic (Arabic in Syriac letters), and contains some early apocryphal Christian writings, the "Apocalypse of Paul," the "Death and Assumption of the Virgin," traditionally ascribed to St John, the "Testament of Adam to Seth," &c.

There are also about twenty-five Hebrew MSS. in the Library, parts of the Bible (Isaiah, Psalms, Esther, &c.), Biblical commentaries, liturgical works, &c. I may mention a valuable early fourteenth century MS. of

part of the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, specially interesting as preserving the *Anti-Christiana* intact, and as a very different sort of example, a translation into very bad Hebrew of the Assembly's "Shorter Catechism," made soon after 1650.

Attention may also be called to a very fine copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, given to the College by Dr Lightfoot, the late Bishop of Durham. According to a Hebrew note in the MS. it would appear to be written entirely on the skins of paschal lambs. As is well known to scholars, the above Pentateuch is in Hebrew, though in Samaritan letters, but the Library possesses also a fragment of the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch (Exod. xxxix. 22—Num. iii. 3).

Some of the more noteworthy Greek MSS. may next be mentioned. Most interesting to many will be the well-known Codex Augiensis of St Paul's Epistles (F of critical editions), a Græco-Latin MS. of the ninth century. This MS. was one of those bought by Bentley when engaged on his projected edition of the Greek Testament, and on the death of Bentley's nephew in 1786 it came to Trinity Library. One noticeable fact about this MS. is that in the Epistle to the Hebrews there is no Greek forthcoming, and the Latin occupies both columns. Another MS. which, fragment though it be, claims a place in the list of New Testament uncials,

is that known to critics as *W*^d, consisting merely of two leaves of St Mark and fragments of two more. These were discovered about thirty years ago in the form of strips inserted into the binding of a volume of Gregory Nazianzen by the late Mr Bradshaw, to whom the world of letters in Cambridge and beyond Cambridge owes so much. These strips, carefully put together to make up the pair of leaves, are now fixed for convenience between two sheets of glass. Besides the two now mentioned, there are also four cursive MSS. of the New Testament, two of the twelfth century, one of the thirteenth, and one dated A.D. 1316. The last two were brought from Mount Athos and Mount Sinai respectively. There are a few MSS. of the Psalms and other parts of the Old Testament in the LXX. version, which, however, need not call for any special remark.

Of the Greek fathers there are, as might have been anticipated, a considerable number of MSS., a goodly addition having been made to the existing stock through those procured by Bentley from Mount Athos. Thus we have MSS., and in some cases not a few, of Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa and of Nazianzum, Basil, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and others. These, however, are too numerous to allow of more than this brief passing notice. One of them, a MS. on paper of Origen on St Matthew, has a special

interest from its associations. It once belonged to Isaac Vossius, the friend and librarian of the blue-stocking Queen Christina ; by Vossius it was given to Herbert Thorndike, and by him to Trinity College. Here, too, may be mentioned a very large MS. of Philo, given by Dean Nevile.

Of Greek classical authors there are also some MSS., of which a few may be mentioned : a Sophocles (*Ajax*, *Electra*, *Ædipus Tyrannus*) with scholia, a pretty, though late, little MS. of Pindar with scholia, a MS. of the *Characters* of Theophrastus, and the well-known Gale MS. of the *Lexicon* of Photius. This last, unfortunately far from complete, is generally considered the parent MS. from which all the other copies of the lexicon have been taken. It was transcribed by Porson in his beautiful Greek hand, and from this transcript, now exhibited in the Library, an edition of the lexicon was published in 1822. With respect to Porson's writings it may be remarked that besides two large cases filled with books once belonging to him, in which specimens of his writing are found more or less plentifully, there are complete transcripts of two plays of Euripides, the *Phænissæ* and *Medea*, written with the most perfect and wonderful neatness and exactness. Indeed, no two manners of writing could well be more unlike than those of the two most famous of all Cam-

bridge scholars, the rough spiky characters of Bentley—legible, it is true, but unpleasing—and the tiny, precise, print-like letters of Porson. I may finally mention a MS. of the Greek lexicon of Harpocration, of the fourteenth century, the readings of which are given in Dindorf's edition.

There are a large number of Latin MSS., both classical and patristic. Of the former I may notice a choice MS. of Livy, unfortunately not beginning till book xxi. This MS., the writing of which is exceedingly fine and clear, is believed to have been the work of an English scribe towards the end of the twelfth century. It appears once to have belonged to the cathedral church of Canterbury. There is also in the Gale collection a well-written MS. of the first decade of Livy, inferior, however, in antiquity to the preceding. I may also mention a very prettily written little MS. of Cornelius Nepos of the fourteenth century, given to the Library by Thomas Docwra, "ad æmulationem posterorum"; and a well-written Macrobius, *De Somnio Scipionis*. The latter appears to have been bought in London in 1469 by John Gunthorpe for 5*s.* 4*d.* Of Roman poets, Horace and Ovid are very well represented, and there are also MSS. of Virgil, Lucan, Juvenal, Persius, Statius, and Claudian. One MS. of Juvenal and Persius, a tall folio in the Gale collection, is of considerable value,

being of the ninth or tenth century, and in the same collection is another MS. of Persius, of the twelfth century, the γ of Jahn's edition. Besides these is yet another, in one volume, with Horace's *Ars Poetica*, and some other writings, formerly belonging to the monastery of St Mary at Holm-Cultrain, a house founded by David, King of Scotland.

Of the Latin fathers the MSS. are too numerous to allow of more than the hastiest notice. Those most frequently occurring are of Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, and Bede. I will single out a MS. of the Epistles and Commentary on St Luke, of St Ambrose; a MS. of Jerome, dated 1477-8, the largest and heaviest MS. in the library; and a well-written MS. in red and black of the Christian poet Arator, "de actibus Apostolorum Petri et Pauli." Besides the fathers above named there are also MSS. of Prudentius, Orosius, Prosper, Leo, Cassiodorus, Gregory of Tours, Anselm, and others.

Of Latin liturgical MSS. may be mentioned two early fifteenth century Sarum Missals, both richly illuminated, and in beautiful condition, save in so far as they are disfigured by the stupid erasures of the names and titles of popes in the calendars and elsewhere, from which few missals have escaped. In one of them the whole of the mass for the festival of St Thomas of

Canterbury (December 29) is altogether effaced. The larger missal, given to the College by Dean Neville, once belonged to the Leventhorpe family, who have used the calendar as their register of deaths, the latest being that of John Leventhorpe in 1511. There are two MS. pontificals in the library, one of the twelfth century, apparently belonging to a bishop of Ely; and the other written while Chicheley was Archbishop of Canterbury, *i.e.*, 1414-43. The use is that of Sarum. A very beautifully written and richly illuminated Psalter seems also to have belonged to the diocese of Ely, as may be inferred from the fact that in the concluding litany the names of female saints are headed by Etheldreda, Wythburga, Sexburga, Ethelberga, Ermenilda, after whom follows St Mary Magdalene. Now the first-named saint was the foundress of the abbey and church at Ely (the 1200th anniversary of whose foundation was celebrated in 1872), the next three were her sisters, Sexburga being her successor as abbess, and Ermenilda her niece, also afterwards abbess of Ely. The same remark applies also to the pontifical, where the names occur in the order, Etheldreda (Atheldrytha), Sexburga, Ermenilda (Eormenhilda), Wythburga (Wihtburga).

Psalters are, of course, very numerous; the most important of all, the Canterbury Psalter, has already

been described, and the only other one I shall name is a gigantic one, which once belonged to the family of the Sydneys, who have entered the births, marriages, and deaths of the members of their illustrious house in the calendar at the beginning. The name of the noble Sir Philip Sydney (the name is not spelt Sidney in the MS.) of course occurs there, with his marriage to Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, only three years before his heroic death at Zutphen.

Of old English MSS. there are a considerable number in the Library, the texts or collations of several of which have been published by the Early English Text Society. Of these may be mentioned an early fifteenth century MS. of *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, or, more strictly, as is insisted on by Prof. Skeat, who collated this MS. for his edition of the text, William Langland's *Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman*. This is one of the many MSS. bequeathed by Nevile. There is also a MS. of *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, a work totally unconnected with the preceding. Of this work, which has also been edited by Prof. Skeat, but two MSS. are known, the one in Trinity College (which is of late date, about A.D. 1600) and one in the British Museum.

There have also been edited for the above-named society the poem of *Generydes* from a unique MS. in the Gale collection of the middle of the fourteenth century;

a volume of old English homilies from a unique MS. of the twelfth century; the *Cursor Mundi* (still in course of publication), a Northumbrian poem of the fourteenth century, from four MSS., whereof one is in Trinity Library, and several others.

Of Wyclif's version of the Bible there are four MSS. (three of which are of the New Testament and one of the Pentateuch), all apparently of much about the same date, A.D. 1420-30, and of the later recension of the text (see Forshall and Madden's edition of Wyclif's Bible, vol. i. p. lviii.). One of these seems to have been given to the College by Archbishop Whitgift, formerly Master. There is also a large volume of Wyclif's works, which has been made use of in the scholarly edition recently edited by Mr F. D. Matthew for the Early English Text Society.

There may finally be enumerated, beautifully written copies of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and Gower's *English, French, and Latin Poems*, standing side by side in two stately folio volumes; a pretty MS. of Sir John Mandevile's travels, numerous copies of various poems of John Lidgate, a volume of English sermons by Reginald Pecock, the unfortunate Bishop of Chichester; a late MS. of Gawin Douglas's translation of Virgil, &c. To these may be added two MSS. on vellum of Ælfric's *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*.

A few more MSS. will claim a short notice which have not fallen into the foregoing divisions. One of these is a Bohemian MS. in the Gale collection, the so-called *Kronika Czeska* of Dalimil, a national history highly regarded in Bohemia. This MS., written in the second half of the fourteenth century, about thirty or forty years after the death of the author, was unknown to Bohemian scholars when the earlier editions of the work were printed; but full use has been made of it, by means of the collation by Mr Wratislaw, the well-known Bohemian scholar, in the recent edition of Jirecek (Prague, 1878). This MS. is of special importance, inasmuch as it preserves the original form of the text of about two-thirds of the whole work, the only other MSS. available being two disjointed fragments of a period coeval with the author, and MSS. of comparatively late date, where copyists had freely added to the text.

Another patriotic little race, the Welsh, are represented by a MS. of about the end of the fourteenth century, *The Laws of Howell Da*, good king Howell. A MS. of very great interest to my mind is the catalogue of books, printed and MS., once belonging to John Dee, the Mortlake philosopher, written in his own hand throughout. (That part of the above which gives the list of the MSS. was published many years ago by the

Camden Society.) Dee was one of the original Fellows of Trinity College, and had a *penchant* for astrology and the like, as may be seen from a diary of his, printed in the above-mentioned volume of the Camden Society from MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. This ultimately led to the sacking of his house by the mob and the dispersal of the library. Another memento of him is a MS. of Raymond Lully's *Liber Experimentorum*, written specially for Dee in 1564.

Another curious MS., which has an interest for us locally, is the original copy of the statutes of the Guild of St Clement, Cambridge, written in 1431. This was printed by the late Mr Toulmin Smith in his book on *English Guilds*, p. 272, *sqq.* The great day of St Clement's Guild was the Sunday after Low Sunday, and the members of the Guild were bound to attend St Clement's Church for evensong on the Saturday, and mass on the Sunday, the fines for non-compliance being one pound and two pounds of wax respectively, for the "amendment of the lights."

The next MS. which I shall mention is one second in interest to none in the Library, that containing several of Milton's poems in his own handwriting. These, it would seem, were found among the papers of Sir Henry Newton, or Puckering, of whom I have previously spoken, a very munificent donor to the Library. The

Lyidas

Weepe no more wofull shepherds weepe no more
 for Lyidas yo^r sorrow is not dead
 though he be beneath the watry floore
 so sinks the day starre in the Ocean bed
 & yet anon repairs his drooping head
 and tricks his beames & with new spangled ore
 flams in the forehead of y^e morning skie
 so Lyidas sunk low but mounted ~~that~~ high
 through the dreare night of him thatt walkt y^e wavy:
 whate other grobes and other streams along
 with nectar ~~pure~~ pure his ouzie locks he caly
hears lightning the unexpressive naphall song
 in the blis kingdome mesh of joy & love
 there entertaine him all the st^r above
 in sollemne troops, and sweet societies
 that sing, & singing in thire glorie move
 and worpe the heares for ever fro his eyes
 now Lyidas the shepherds weepe no more
 henceforth thou art the lyetins of y^e shoore
 in thy large recompence, & shalt be good
 to all that wander in that perfidious flood
 Thus sung the unconth swaine to th^e oakes & nills
 while y^e still morne went out with sandals gray
 he toucht the tender stops of various quills
 with eager thought warbling his Dorick lay
 and now the sun had stretcht out all the hells
 and now was dropt into west^e the west^er'n bay
 at last he rose and twitcht his mantle blew
 To morrow to fresh woods, and pasturs new

Conclusion of Lycidas.

following entry, pasted at the beginning of the volume, tells all the remaining history:—

“Lib. Trin. Coll. Cantabr. Membra hæc Eruditissimi et pæne Divini Poetæ olim miserè disjecta et passim sparsa, postea verò fortuitò Inventa et in usum denuò collecta a *Carolo Mason ejus col. Socio et inter miscellanea reposita deinceps* eâ, quâ decuit, Religione servari voluit Thomas Clarke [Master of the Rolls, 1755], nuperime hujusce collegii nunc vero Medii Templi Londini socius, 1736.”

The words I have italicized are inserted by a second but contemporary hand. A minute description of this volume will be found in Mr Sotheby's *Ramblings in Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton*, 1861; but it may be as well to note here the chief contents, *Arcades*, *At a Solemn Music*, *On Time*, *Upon the Circumcision*, *Comus*, *Lycidas*, the first rough notes for *Paradise Lost*, originally planned as a drama, where “Moses *προλογίζει*,” rough notes for other projected dramas, and *Sonnets*. The MS., the paper of which is unfortunately becoming exceedingly brittle, is mostly in the hand of Milton himself, but part of the sonnets are written by different amanuenses. Milton's habit of revising and re-writing on the same paper gives additional interest to this MS., for we see the whole process of development before us. Thus the noble sonnet on *The Death of Mrs Catherine Thompson* is given three times, twice in the writing of Milton and once in that of an amanu-

ensis. This sonnet was very different in its earliest draft from what it ultimately became. Thus in line 4, for "of death called life," there originally stood "of flesh and sin." The four lines 6-10 originally stood:—

"[And all thy good endeavour]
 Strait follow'd thee the path that Saints have trod:
 Still as they journey'd from this dark abode
 Up to y^e Realm of peace and joy for ever,
 Faith who led on y^e way and knew them best."

Beautiful as these lines are, none can fail to see the vastly greater beauty of the revision.

Inferior, indeed, to the above in interest, and yet having a very considerable interest of their own, are such MSS. as Bishop Pearson's autograph notes on Hesychius, Barrow's autograph sermons, and the volumes of Sadleir MSS. One of the last is a volume of "Reflections of Mr Coke," son of Sir Edward Coke, transcribed by his sister, Dame Anne Sadleir. The following extract shews that Mr Coke had no hesitation in calling "a spade a spade," though much in the volume shews him to have been a pious, God-fearing man:—

1658. "This year died that arch Trayter and Tyrant Oliver Cromwell, sum say in that great unheard of wind, and it is worth noting that his funarall was of (*sic*) St Clement's Day, on which day all the Brewers kepes holliday. You have his epethite (*sic*) before."

That Dame Sadleir had the courage of her opinions

as much as her brother may be seen, *e.g.*, in a letter to Roger Williams, in which, referring to Milton, she declares that his treason and his views as to marriage and divorce are justly punished by blindness in this life and will have fuller punishment hereafter. The following entry in her handwriting is found at the beginning of a very striking illuminated MS. of the Apocalypse given by her to the College:—

“I commit this booke to the custodie of the right Reuerend Father in god, Raffe lo: Bishop of Exon, when times are better settled (which god hasten) it is with my other booke and my coines, giuen to Trinitie Colledge Librarie in Cambridge, god in his good time restore her with her sister Oxford to there pristine happines, the Vulger People, to there former obedience, and god bless, and restore Charles the second, and make him like his most glorious Father. Amen.

“ANNE SADLEIR.

“August the 20^{tie} 1649.”

With three autographs of great writers of the present century, all once undergraduates of Trinity, Byron, Tennyson and Thackeray, our notice of the MSS. may conclude, save in so far as we shall mention interesting cases of writing in printed books. Of the former poet we have the first letter—at any rate the letter claims to be such—dated Nov. 8, 1798, when Byron was ten years old. He begs that all errors may be excused, but the only phrase to be found fault with is “will accept off.” Of Tennyson there is the original

MS. of *Audley Court*. Of Thackeray we possess the complete MS. of *Esmonil*; partly, and that very largely, in his own writing, partly in that of his daughter, and partly in that of another amanuensis.

Of printed books deriving a special interest from MS. matter contained in them a few may be mentioned,—a copy of the *Greek Anthology*, printed at Florence by Laur. Franc. de Alopa in 1494, which is filled with MS. notes in the handwriting of the elder Aldus, including thirty-three pages of MS. entirely by him, which is certainly the copy from which was printed the Aldine *Anthology* of 1503. Akin to this is a copy of Stephens's edition of Xenophon of 1561, covered with Henry Stephens's notes with a view to his new edition.

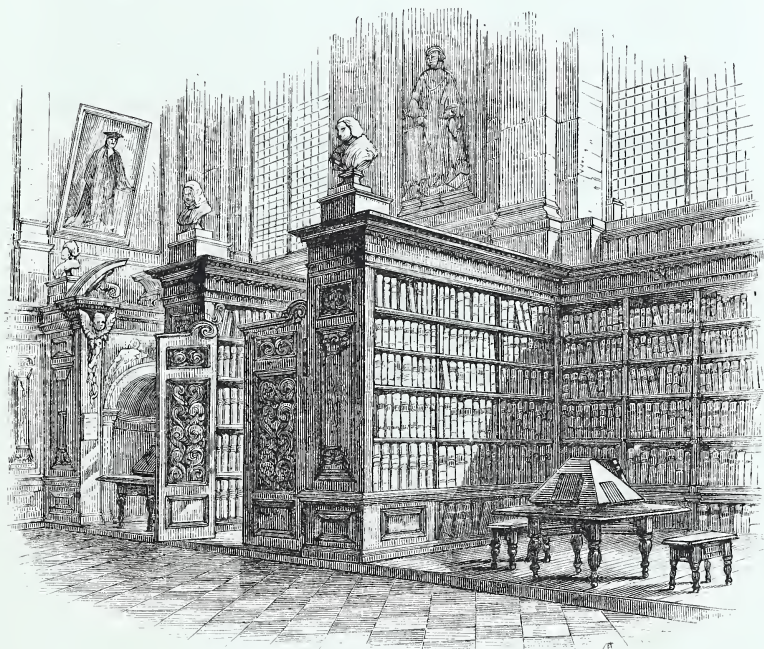
More generally interesting than the above, however, will be the letter of Bacon, once a member of Trinity College, contained in the copy of his *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum* (London, 1623) presented to his old college. This letter has already been printed by Mr Spedding (*Life and Letters of Lord Bacon*, vol. VII. p. 439), but some who have not his book at hand may be glad to see it reprinted here:—

“Fra. Baro de Verulamio, Vicecomes S^{cti} Albani percelebri Collegio S^{ctæ} et Individuæ Trinitatis in Cantabrigia. S.

“Res omnes earumque Progressus Initiis suis debentur. Itaque cum Initia Scientiarum e fontibus vestris hauserim, Incrementa ipsarum vobis rependenda existimavi. Spero itidem fore, ut hæc

nostra apud vos, tanquam in solo nativo, fœlicius succrescant. Quamobrem et vos hortor, ut salva Animi modestia et erga veteres reverentia, Ipsi quoque Scientiarum Augmentis non desitis: verum ut post volumina sacra verbi Dei et Scripturarum, secundo loco volumen illud magnum operum Dei et creaturarum, strenue et præ omnibus libris (qui pro commentariis tantum haberi debent) evolvatis. Valete."

I have already referred to the numerous books containing MS. notes by Bentley and by Porson, on which, however, I need not dwell, and I shall therefore now pass on to speak of some of the choicest of the early printed books.



CHAPTER III.

THE INCUNABULA.

I PROPOSE now to speak of some of the more interesting of the early printed books. It is by no means easy, in thus sketching the salient points of a great collection, to determine which method of treatment shall be followed, whether by subject, or by country and town of printing, or by date. In any case, the interest must necessarily be unequally sustained, and it is hard to avoid a certain amount of repetition.

Everything considered, however, it seems best in the first instance to follow the method of date, and I shall, therefore, for the present, confine myself to the *incunabula* (sweet sound in the ear of a bibliographer), or books printed before the close of the fifteenth century.

Of these the Library possesses rather more than 500, which have been arranged during the last few years, and described in a printed catalogue. About three hundred of these are in the collection bequeathed by Mr Grylls, spoken of in my first chapter; and most of

the early printed Greek books in that of Dr Matthew Raine. Of other donors, those whose names most frequently occur are Beaupré Bell (B.A. 1725), Sylvius Elwis (B.A. *circa* 1600), John Laughton (Librarian 1669-73), Sir Henry Newton or Puckering, Thos. Skeffington (Fellow 1571), and Thos. Whalley (Fellow 1591). These were all spoken of in my first chapter, and I merely repeat the names here. To these must be added the name of Mr A. A. VanSittart, late Auditor of the College, and of living donors should be mentioned, Mr S. Sandars.

Of the early printed English books, the number is inconsiderable, but what there is is valuable. Of Caxtons there are the following : (1) *The Recuyell of the historyes of Troye*, translated into English by Caxton, from the French of Raoul le Fevre. This book, of which altogether twenty copies, most of which are more or less imperfect, are known to exist, has the proud distinction of being the first book ever printed in the English language. It has been almost certainly shewn by Mr Blades (*Life and Typography of William Caxton*, I. 45, *sqq.* ; see also II. 3) that this work was printed at Bruges, where Caxton learnt the art of printing from Colard Mansion. The College copy, which is not quite perfect, wanting a few leaves at both beginning and end, was given in 1673, by Valentine Pettit (Fellow, 1668),

together with the next but one of the remaining Caxtons. (2) *The Dictes of the Philosophres* (first edition), the first book printed in England, for I suppose no one will now maintain the date 1468 to be other than an error for 1478, in the *Exposicio Hieronymi*, printed at Oxford. The present work, a translation by Earl Rivers from the French, was printed at "Westmestre," under the shade of the Abbey, in 1477, the year which saw the overthrow and death of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, at Nancy. (3) *The Game of the Chess* (second edition), translated from the French version of the Latin work of Jac. de Cessolis. This work is undated, but it was probably printed in 1483. The quaint woodcuts, sixteen in number, of this book are well known; the one which is reproduced by Mr Blades (II. 96) is, perhaps, the strangest, shewing how Evil-Merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, "a jolly man without justice," did have his father's body "hewn into three hundred picces." (4) *The Eneydos*, Caxton's paraphrase of parts of the *Æneid* ("the boke of *Eneydos*, compyled by Vyrgyle, which hath be translated oute of latyne in to frenshe, and oute of frenshe reduced in to Englysshe by me Wyllm Caxton"), finished in 1490, in the last year of the great printer's life; for Caxton died in 1491, and Wynkyn de Worde, his assistant, succeeded to the business. The three last-mentioned works are

perfect copies, save only a single blank leaf missing in No. 2. To these four volumes, which were the only Caxtons known to exist in the Library until recently, another must now be added. During the summer of 1881 Mr Bradshaw, while examining the account-books of King's Hall, came across (in the volume for the year 1499-1500) two fragments, printed on vellum in the same type as that used by Caxton in 1480 in the *Chronicles of England*. The fragments, one consisting of six whole lines from the middle, and the other of a small fragment of the last six lines, form parts of an indulgence, issued by John Kendale, Grand Prior of the order of St John of Jerusalem in England, under the authority of Pope Sixtus IV., for assistance at the siege of Rhodes. An edition of this indulgence, printed in the same type with the *Game of Chess* spoken of above, is described by Mr Blades (II. 79). It may be noted that the copy of which the present fragments form part must have been an unused one, as the gap which is left for the date is not filled in.

On Caxton's death, Wynkyn de Worde, as we have said, continued the business in the old place, though no books seem to be known of his with a date earlier than 1493. At Westminster he continued only for a few years, for about 1500 he removed his abode to Fleet Street, where he continued till his death in 1534. At

present, however, our concern is only with the Westminster books. Of these there are two in the Library, *The Festival* and *IV. Sermons* of 1493, and the splendid edition of the *Golden Legend* of 1498. Unfortunately neither of these copies is quite complete.

It need not be said that at the time when these books were printed, London was altogether distinct from Westminster. Where the busy stream now passes along the Strand there stood in Caxton's time, and long after, stately palaces of the nobility, surrounded by open country. Soon after Caxton had taken up his abode near the Abbey, more than one foreign printer settled in London. Of one of these, John Lettou, we possess a small fragment, four leaves of Thom. Wallensis, *Super Psalterium*, printed "in Civitate Londoniensi" in 1481. Of another, Will. de Machlinia, there is one work in perfect preservation, the *Speculum Christiani*, with the *Expositio Orationis Dominicæ*. Throughout this book, which is mainly in Latin, are interspersed pieces of English, mostly in rhyme; thus the first, fifth, and eighth commandments run:—

"Thou schalt loue god with Herte entiere
With alle thy soule and alle thy might,
Other god in no manere
Thou schalt not haue by daye ne nyght."

"Thi fader and thi moder thou schalt honoure
Nought only with reuerence,

In thair nede thou thaim socoure
And kepe ay gode obedience."

"Be thou no theef no theuys fere
Ne nothyng wynne thurgh trethery,
Okur¹ nor symonye come thou not nere
But Conscience clere keep ay truely."

Of another most famous English printer, Richard Pynson, we possess but one fifteenth century work, the *Sarum Missal* of 1500. This, though mentioned before, will now claim a more detailed account. The copy in the College Library was given by Sir Edward Stanhope, the founder of the Librarianship (Fellow 1564), and though not quite perfect, is probably the most splendid copy of the work in existence. It is printed on vellum ($12\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches), and bound in the original oak boards. After the printer had done his work, an immense amount of labour was expended on the volume by the illuminator. This is specially conspicuous in the case of the masses for the more important festivals, where the page is surrounded by an elaborate border, containing a curious punning device on the name of Cardinal John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, at whose expense the book was printed. The defects of the present copy are that it wants the leaf at the end of the calendar, containing on one side

¹ That is, *usury*.

the Royal Arms, and on the other those of Cardinal Morton, and three leaves containing the greater part of the Canon. The place of these last is supplied by five leaves of MS. I refer to this MS. because on the first page of it is emblazoned a coat of arms, which I am unable to identify. Quarterly, 1 and 4, Az., a griffin passant or, holding in dexter paw a branch vert, flowered or; 2 and 3, Arg., three cross-bows vert, stringed and barbed gules. The imprint at the end of the book in red and Pynson's device below in black have been carefully erased by some previous owner.

Of Oxford fifteenth century printing, we possess Joh. Lattebury's *Expositio in Threnos Jeremiæ*, printed in 1482 by Theoderic Rood. This last statement is, it is true, merely an inference, as no printer's name is given in the imprint, but may be assumed to be a fact from the identity of the type and manner of setting up in the *Alexander de Ales*, where the printer's name is given. In 1483 Theoderic Rood took an Englishman named Thomas Hunt into partnership, but of the works produced by this firm the sole relic in the Library is a single leaf of one book, Swyneshed's *Insolubilia*, a work of which only one perfect copy is known to exist, viz. in the library of New College, Oxford, where it was discovered by Mr Bradshaw. Thus, of the four places where printing was practised in England during the

fifteenth century, St Albans is the only place unrepresented.

I pass on in the next place to books printed in France. Here the towns represented are only Paris, Lyons, and possibly, but doubtfully, Poitiers. Of the books printed at Paris, the most noteworthy is a translation of some of Seneca's works into French by "Maistre Laurens de Premier fait," the Latin accompanying on the outside margin. This book was printed by Anthoine Verard, not before 1500, or after Sept. 29, 1503, as it was within this period that Verard occupied the premises named in the imprint "en la rue saint jacques pres petit pont." It is a folio on vellum, 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. by 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in., taller than the copy in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, which further lacks the last leaf with Verard's emblem and the imprint. On the *recto* of the second leaf is a charming miniature of the translator presenting his book to Charles VI. How so striking a book got originally into the College Library I am unable to say, as at a comparatively recent period it has been rebound, in which process any traces there may have been of former ownership were obliterated. It is mentioned, however, in catalogues of the Library more than a century and a half ago.

Of books printed by Thielman Kerver I will mention two,—one the *Stultifera Navis Additamentum de quin-*

que Virginibus of J. B. Ascensius, a kind of supplement to the well-known *Stultifera Navis* of Sebastian Brant; and, secondly, a leaf, with the imprint, of a Dutch Book of Hours of the Virgin, with the date 1500, which is bound up with a French edition of the Hours of the Virgin of later date. I mention this single leaf because I find no other trace of the edition in any book of reference known to me, the earliest Dutch edition of *Horæ* printed by Kerver, which is mentioned by Brunet (v. 1622), being of 1509.

Two other *Horæ* may next be mentioned, one of the Sarum use, the work of a printer whose name is unknown to me save for this book, viz., John Jehannot, who printed it for Nic. Lecomte, the bookseller, in 1498. So far as I am aware, this copy, which is perfect save for two leaves, is the only one known of this edition. The other book, which is printed on vellum, is of the Roman use, but being defective at the end, the imprint is wanting. It was probably, however, printed at Paris about 1500.

Of the Lyons-printed books there is nothing that need specially detain us, the well-known edition of Will. of Ockam's works printed by John Trechsel being the most prominent. One book printed at Poitiers has been referred to, the poem of Baptista Mantuanus, *De Contemnenda Morte*. It is often by no means easy,

however, to tell whether an undated book is due to the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century, and as the printers of the above book, Jehan Bouyer and Guil. Bouchet, were practising their art both before and after 1500, the matter must be considered doubtful.

We will now pass from France to the Low Countries. The mention of the Low Countries cannot fail to suggest to the bibliographer how much more has been done of late years for the history of Dutch and Belgian than of English printing, whether by books that take in the whole field during a certain space of time, such as the great work of the late Mr Holtrop (*Monuments Typographiques des Pays-Bas au Quinzième Siècle*), or his *Catalogus Librorum Sæculo XV. impressorum quotquot in Bibliotheca Reg. Hagana asservantur*, and the *Annales Typographiques* of Mr Campbell; or of special monographs on the printing of special towns, such as Mr Vanderhaegen's *Bibliographie Gantoise*, or Diegerick's *Bibliographie Yproise*, &c. What has been done for English printing of the like sort since the days of Dibdin? We have, it is true, the great work on Caxton by Mr Blades, a work which reflects the highest honour on English bibliography, but there is hardly anything else to keep it company. Of the history of printing in single towns we have Davies's *Memoir of the York*

Press; but even the history of printing at the two Universities has had yet but little done to it.

To return, however, to the Low Countries. I mention a book printed at Louvain about 1483 by Joh. de Westphalia, the *Epistles* of Gasparinus Barzizius, which is noticeable because of the curious position of the signatures (agreeing, however, therein with another book of the same printer), which are placed immediately to the right of the last line or the last two lines in the page. A large number of books occur which were printed at Deventer, the great centre of the school-book trade, by Rich. Paffroed and Jac. de Breda. First, however, may be named one which is not a school-book, and the typographical history of which is rather a puzzle, the *Liber qui dicitur Moraliū Dogma*, from the collection of Dr Raine. An interesting example of the school-book type is Joannis *Compendium totius Grammaticæ*, printed by Rich. Paffroed in 1489. I cite this book because of its connexion with England, for on the *verso* of the first leaf is a Latin poem in honour of "Guilielmus Episcopus Vintonie." This is William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester (1447-1486), who founded Magdalene College School, Oxford, in 1481. Of this school John Anwykyll was the first master, and the author of the above work, the original edition having appeared at Oxford in 1483.

Another town, which is probably here represented, though this is a point on which bibliographers are even yet not agreed, is Gouda, in the case of the three books Marco Polo's *De Consuetudinibus Orientalium Regionum*, John de Mandeville's *Itinerarius*, and Ludolph de Suchen's *Libellus de Itinere ad Terram Sanctam*. To shew what divergence of view there is as to the place where these three books were printed, I may note that while Panzer thought them printed by Theod. Martin at Alost, Brunet goes so far afield as to maintain that they are the work of a Venetian printer. Mr Grenville and Mr Bradshaw agree in the view that the type is that of Gerard de Leeu, the former referring these works to the time after he had settled at Antwerp, the latter to the time while he was still in business at Gouda. Of Gerard de Leeu's Antwerp printing an undoubted specimen exists in his edition of the well-known work *Historia de Calumniis Novercali* (1490).

The little town of Zwolle is represented by one book, the *Canons* of Bartholomew of Cologne, printed in 1500 by Peter Van Os. The manner in which this book is dated has led some to think, quite wrongly, that 1501, and not 1500, was the date:—

“Ante Ihesum duo cc minus uno millia quinque
Postque Ihesum mille quingenti præteriere.”

With the early printing of Germany the field widens

considerably. Here printing was first practised, and at towns like Mentz, Strasburg, and Cologne a vast quantity of books was poured forth from the press. To begin, then, with Mentz, the cradle of the art, the earliest document from which whose date can be declared with absolute certainty is the *Indulgence* of 1454, beyond which all is theory. The story about Gutenberg is well known; how the great inventor of printing is forced, like many men of genius in after-time, to call in the help of a capitalist; how the goldsmith John Fust is taken into partnership; how the partners quarrel and set up each on his own account; and how Gutenberg struggles on, with no marked amount of success, dying at last heartbroken, while his wealthier rival founds a prosperous and famous press. Whatever truth there may be in this, I believe I am right in stating that no book whatsoever is known containing the name of Gutenberg in the imprint. Consequently, John Fust, citizen of Mentz, is the earliest printer whose name ever appears in an imprint, and the oldest printed book in the Library is one due to his press—the edition of the *De Officiis* and *Paradoxa* of Cicero, printed in 1466, a second edition of what had appeared in the preceding year. The copy now before me was in the Raine collection. In the colophon we read, “Johannes Fust Moguntinus civis manu Petri de Gernsshem.” Peter

Schoeffer, the "puer meus," as Fust elsewhere calls him, ultimately married Christina Fust, and the business long prospered in his hands; and after his death, which probably occurred in 1502, his son John reigned in his stead. Of Fust's printing we possess no other specimens; but of Schoeffer's, after he became the head of the house, there are two, the *Opus Quarti Scripti* of Thomas Aquinas, and the *Epistles* of St Jerome, printed in 1469 and 1470 respectively. In the latter book is a large amount of illumination by an artist who enters his name, "Laszarus de Andlou, 1475."

Only a few years later than Mentz in its recognition of the new art comes Strasburg, where we find John Mentelin established as a printer as early as 1460. Of his work the only specimen here is the *Etymologiæ* of Isidore of Seville, a large thin folio. About the year 1472, a certain printer carried on his trade at Strasburg, and issued books in a round Roman type, similar to, but not identical with, those of Mentelin. Who he was, is, so far as I am aware, unknown, and the peculiar form of his capital letter R has suggested the name by which he is generally known, "the R printer." Of his printing are a sturdy pair of huge folio volumes of the Latin translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, still in the original binding; the *Epistles* of Seneca, and the *Declaratio Valerii Maximi* of Dion. de Burgo. Another

early and famous Strasburg printer, Henry Eggesteyn, is represented by an edition of Gratian's *Decretum*, of Cicero's *Officia et Paradoxa*, both of 1472; and by Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and Ludolph *De Terra Sancta et Itinere Hierosolymitano*, both undated, but of about the year 1473.

A few other books printed at Strasburg by various hands may also be noticed. I single out the great Latin Bible, with the glosses of Walafrid Strabo and Anselm Laudunensis. A curious point in connexion with this Bible is, that for a long time it was referred to the press of John de Amerbach at Basle, *circa* 1480. There has come to light, however, a congratulatory Latin poem, addressed to Adolph Rusch (who was son-in-law of John Mentelin and himself a printer) on the publication of a Bible, which is certainly the present edition. The poem itself and the circumstances of its discovery are given in the *Serapeum* (Nos. 9 and 15). An edition of Persius may also be named, which has neither place nor date of printing nor printer's name, but which appears to have been printed by Martin Flach about 1472. This is considered by some to be the *editio princeps* of Persius, because of the claim put forward in the subscription, "Explicit ignotus per totum Persius orbem," though others give the preference to the edition without date printed at Rome by Udalric Hahn. Lastly

come several of the productions of Joh. Grüninger's press, with curious woodcuts,—the *Panegyrici* of Locher, addressed to the emperor Maximilian (1497); the works of Horace, with the notes of Locher (1498); the miscellaneous poems of Sebastian Brant (1498), the author of the well-known *Stultifera Navis*, and the comedies of Terence, with interlinear and other glosses (1499). Specimens of the woodcuts in the second and fourth of the above-named works are given by Dibdin in his *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* (II. 87, 426).

The town which ranks next in order of precedence of printing is Cologne, where the art was practised in 1466. Of its proto-typographer, Ulric Zell, the Library possesses a fair number of specimens, all undated, but to be referred to about the year 1470; *e.g.*, St Augustine *De Disciplina Christiana*, St Bernard *De Planctu Beatæ Mariæ*, and the letters of that new “pius Æneas,” Pope Pius II., “ad Mahumetem principem Turcorum.” About this time there was also carrying on business at Cologne another printer, whose name is unknown, the products of whose press, while in type almost identical with that of Ulric Zell, present typographical characteristics and modes of working quite distinct from his. This unknown printer I follow Mr Bradshaw in calling the “printer of the *Historia S. Albani*,” that particular work being taken both as being

the commonest of the products of this press and also because it runs no risk of being confused with other editions more or less like it. Of this printer the Library possesses St Jerome's *Ordo sive Regula Vivendi Deo*, the only other copy of which known to me is that in the Bodleian; St Augustine's *Sermo super Orationem Dominicam*, &c.; and Mapheus Vegius, *Dialogus inter Alithiam et Philaliten*. Of another printer, whose name is unknown, but who may be defined as the "printer of *Dictys Cretensis*," we possess a work of which I know no copy but our own, Pope Paul II.'s *Litteræ Apostolicæ de Publicatione anni Jubilæi*, 1475, printed after April 19, 1470, the date of the letter. One more Cologne book must suffice, the curious chronicles of Cologne, with quaint woodcuts, printed by Joh. Koelhoff in 1499, "up sent Bartholomeus avent."

We now pass to Augsburg, where printing was first practised in 1468 by Günther Zainer of Reutlingen. Of this printer we possess a collection of minor works of St Jerome and others, beginning with the *De Viris Illustribus*, apparently printed about 1470; and the *Etymologiæ* and *De Responsione Mundi* of Isidore of Seville, both printed in 1472. It is perhaps worth mentioning, as being a thing which I have not often noticed, that in the case of the first of the above three works, one of the two copies has a list of the various *opuscula*

contained in the volume on a small leaf fastened on the inside of the contemporaneous binding, and printed in the same type as the body of the work. A book of considerable interest is the old German version of the history of *Josaphat and Barlaam*, the original Greek text of which is often ascribed to Joh. Damascenus. Of the German version there were two early editions printed at Augsburg, one by Günther Zainer about 1477, and a second by Ant. Sorg about 1480. The latter, which is that in the Library, very closely resembles the former, but has smaller woodcuts. Of Ant. Sorg's press we also possess *Die Hystori von dem Grossen Allexander* (1483, "an mitwoch nächst vor Sant Anthoni"), which is a translation by Joh. Hartlieb from the Latin of Julius Valerius; which, in its turn, is a translation from the Greek of a certain Æsopus, first published by Müller in his edition of Arrian. There are, further, a considerable number of books printed by Erhard Ratdolt. This printer, a native of Augsburg, had carried on his trade for some years at Venice, his speciality being mainly works of an astronomical and astrological character. Subsequently he returned to his native place, and there printed a large number of works of a similar character.

A book printed at Ulm deserves notice, the stately edition of the *Cosmographia* of Ptolemy, printed by

Leon. Hol in 1482, containing thirty-two maps. These, which were engraved by Joh. Schnitzer de Armszheim, under the superintendence of Nic. Donis, are woodcuts, and, with one exception, fill up each the inner side of a whole sheet. The little town of Münster in Ergau, otherwise known by its Latin name Berona, gives us the work of Conrad Thuricensis *De Cometis*, printed by Helyas de Louffen about 1472.

To Nuremberg, "quaint old town of art and song," redolent with memories of Albert Dürer and Hans Sachs, are to be referred a considerable number of our early printed books. It must suffice, however, to mention one or two. A precious book is the *Schatzbehälter, oder Schrein der waren Reichtümer des Heils*, printed by Ant. Koberger (a man with looser views as to the spelling of his own name than most early printers) in 1491, and containing numerous woodcuts by Michael Wohlgemuth, the master of Albert Dürer. A more generally known work, however, in which the same artist (aided by Will. Pleydenwurff) has given us over 2,000 woodcuts, is the famous *Nuremberg Chronicle* of Hartman Schedel, printed by the same printer in 1493. Of Nuremberg books I will further mention two of those printed by Joh. Müller, better known as Regiomontanus, from having been born near to Königsberg. This celebrated astronomer had opened a printing-press in Nuremberg,

probably in 1471, and of this press we possess two specimens, both thin folios, printed in Roman type, without printed signatures, the *Theoricæ Novæ Planetarum* of Geo. Purbach, the instructor of Regiomontanus, and the *Dialogus inter Viennensem et Cracoviensem*. The latter of these has a further interest, in that on the *verso* of the first leaf the Greek words ὥρων ἰσημερινῶν are filled in by hand, doubtless by Regiomontanus himself.

The town of Spires contributes a book of some degree of rarity, Bern. de Breydenbach's *Opusculum Sanctarum Peregrinationum in Montem Syon*, printed by Peter Drach in 1490; and Laugingen a copy of its one known *incunabulum*, Augustine *De Consensu Evangelistarum*. The book was printed "In civitate Laugingen," in 1473, and the next in order of time that is known is of the year 1565. It is reasonable to suppose the first book to have been the work of travelling printers, on their way from one town to another, with all their *impedimenta* with them, who had utilised their stay at Laugingen by printing a respectable folio of 108 leaves. Whether this be so or no, the name of the printer is as yet altogether unknown.

At Basle printing did not begin till 1474. Of Basle books two may be noted; a Latin Bible, printed by John Froben in 1491, which is worthy of remark as

being the first which deserted the folio and quarto size, and appeared as a reasonable octavo, the first Bible in print that could possibly have been a pocket Bible. John Froben was, as is well known, the printer of the first Greek Testament which the world ever saw. The other book is a work once very much in vogue, the *Stultifera Navis* of Sebastian Brant. The object of this work is to satirize the follies of every rank of life, under the metaphor of a ship manned with fools. To bring the satires thoroughly home, the book is freely furnished with woodcuts. Of this we possess two editions, both printed at Basle in 1497 by John Bergman, one an octavo, issued on March 1; the other a quarto, on August 1. *The Ship of Fools* was translated into English by Alexander Barclay, a priest of Ely, and of this an edition, which, I regret to say, we do not possess, was published by Richard Pynson in 1509.

Our books from the Leipzig and Memmingen presses do not call for special remark; but I must briefly refer to one which, while unfortunately lacking its imprint, and therefore somewhat indeterminate, was probably printed at Würzburg (Herbipolis). This is a *Breviarium Herbipolense*, due, apparently, to the last decade of the fifteenth century, which, so far as I know, is totally undescribed. The whole of the *Pars Hyemalis* is, unfortunately, wanting in our copy, as well as the title, calendar,

and almanac. The book is an octavo, and should contain 342 leaves. It once belonged to Archdeacon Julius Hare.

We may next notice some books which, while certainly printed in Germany, do not furnish us with sufficient data to fix their place of printing more definitely. Among these are an edition of Guido de Columna's *Historia Destructionis Troiæ*, of which I cannot trace any other copy, a folio of about the date 1475; and an edition of Cyril's *Speculum Sapientiæ*, a quarto of about the same date. The Cyril in question is apparently the Cyril who, with his brother Methodius, evangelized the Slavonians in the ninth century, and to whom is due the Slavonic alphabet and the Slavonic version of the Bible. I may also mention a tract, undated, but of about the year 1490, containing Joh. de Hese, *Itinerarius a Jerusalem per diversas partes Mundi*, together with a letter of "Johannes, Presbyter Maximus, Indorum et Ethiopum Christianorum Imperator et Patriarcha" to "Emmanuel, Romæ Gubernator." This is the famous Prester John, the hero of many an extraordinary legend.

More valuable than any of these, however, is a book of very great rarity, the *Philogenia* of Ugolini Pisani of Parma, a prose comedy which first appeared about the middle of the fifteenth century. The work is mentioned

by Tiraboschi (*Letteratura Italiana*, VI. 868, and note, ed. 1809). When and where this edition was printed I am unable to say. I can hardly assent to Brunet's remark (v. 101) that it belongs "au premier âge de l'imprimerie en Allemagne," but should be disposed to fix it at about 1470, or a little later. Its size can only be described properly as small quarto and large octavo mixed. I use these words, of course, in their strict sense, as having reference to the folding of the paper, as shown by the horizontal or vertical position of the wire-marks: *quarto* and *octavo* are words of very elastic meaning as applied to books nowadays. A minute account of the above book is given by Brunet (*loc. cit.*) from a description furnished him by a private collector, who possessed the only copy known to Brunet. The description, however, swarms with numerous small errors, and has been transplanted, errors and all, to the well-known *Trésor* of Graesse, who has not acknowledged the source of his quotation, but whose faithful reproduction of his original has betrayed his plagiarism. This practice is one against which no bibliographer can protest too strongly, and is a great deal too common. Nothing can more fatally drag back bibliography from becoming the exact science it is capable of becoming than this careless, easy-going system, instead of conscientiously citing facts and letting them tell their own story.

Fra. Baro de verulamio, vice Comitis S^{ty} Albani.
per celeberr. Collegio S^{ctae} et gnosimudice Trinitatis
in Cantabrigia. S.

Res omnes earumque Progressus Antis suis debentur.
Itaque cum Initia Scientiarum, è fontibus vestris hauri-
serim; Incrementa ipsarum vobis rependerda existimavi.
Spero itidem fore, ut haec nostra apud vos, tanquam in
solo nativo, foelicius succrescant. Quamobrem et vos hortor,
ut salua Animj modestia, et erga veteres reverentia, ipsi
quoque Scientiarum flugmentis non desitis: verum ut pas-
solumina sacra verby Dei & Scripturarum, secundo loco,
volumen illud magnum Operum Dei & Creaturarum, strenue
& prae omnibus libris (qui pro Commentarijs tantum haberi
debent) evolvatis. Valete.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INCUNABULA (CONTINUED).

THERE yet remains that country which, though not the birthplace of printing, yet accorded to the new art an almost warmer welcome than even Germany itself. It is to the early Italian printers that we must look for the highest beauty of work, and it is pre-eminently to them that is due the diffusion of copies of the ancient classical authors—indeed in the case of Greek it is due to them almost exclusively.

The first place in Italy where printing was practised was at the Benedictine monastery of Subiaco, near Rome. Here, shortly after the sack of Mentz (1462), two Germans, Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, betook themselves, the second book issued by them bearing the date October 29, 1465. Towards the end of the following year they left the monastery for Rome, where they took up their abode “in domo Petri de Maximo.” They only just secured the honour of being proto-typographers of Rome as well as of Italy, for

another German printer, Udalric Hahn, had settled in Rome sufficiently soon to enable him to put Dec. 31, 1467, in the imprint of his first book.

Of the productions of the press of Sweynheym and Pannartz while they continued together we possess three books,—(1) The *editio princeps* of the well-known *Speculum Vitæ Humanæ*, printed in 1468, the oldest printed book in the Library next to Fust's edition of the *De Officiis*. This book nearly all bibliographers will persist in calling a folio—it is a large quarto. (2) The *Epistles* and *Opuscula* of St Cyprian, printed in 1471. (3) An edition of Suetonius, printed in 1472, a reprint of the earlier edition of 1470.

From the amount of competition and other causes, the firm did not thrive, and their appeal to Sixtus IV. being apparently resultless, Sweynheym turned to the trade of a copper-plate engraver and Pannartz went on alone, and probably died about the end of the year 1486. Of this later period of Pannartz's career we possess three books, all of the year 1475:—(1) *Statius*, a large quarto, not a folio as it is called by Dibdin and others; (2) Aquinas *De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei*; and (3) Josephus's *History of the Jewish War* in the Latin Version. Of Udalric Hahn the only work which we possess is a fine copy of Servius's *Commentary on Virgil*, printed about 1470. The other fifteenth-century Roman printers of

whom there are specimens here are Geo. Laver, Adam Rot, Euch. Silber, and Stephen Plannck; but I need not refer to any of these books, except the edition of Festus *De Interpretatione Linguae Latinæ*, by the first-named printer, a work of sufficient rarity to deserve this passing notice.

One other book, Ang. Politian's *Oratio pro Oratoribus Senensium*, to which is appended the *Oratio pro Obedientia Ducis Mediolanensium* of Jas. Mayno, may be mentioned. The book bears neither place nor date of printing nor printer's name, but was probably printed at Rome about 1493. This copy was bought at the Libri sale in 1859, and is the only one with which I am acquainted (see Graesse's *Trésor*, v. 389).

At Venice printing began to be practised in 1469, and the new art took very kindly root in the great merchant city. Panzer gives a list of no less than two hundred printers who carried on their trade at Venice during the last thirty years of the fifteenth century. Of these, the first to begin was John de Spira, an adventurous German, who sought a clear field for his labours, and obtained the licence to print in 1469. On his death in the following year, his brother Vindelin carried on the business. The earliest book from this press which we possess is the *editio princeps* of Tacitus, printed in 1469 or 1470, which, on the ground of the last line of

the colophon, has been variously referred to each of the two brothers:

“Pressit
Spira premens, artis gloria prima suæ.”

On the whole, however, it would appear to be due to Vindelin. One point for which this book is noticeable is that it is apparently the earliest in which catch-words occur.

I note here the other specimens we possess of Vin. de Spira's press:—Sallust (1470), Quintus Curtius (c. 1470–71), Cicero *De Natura Deorum*, &c. (1471), Val. Maximus (1471), Martial (c. 1471), Boccaccio's *Genealogiæ deorum gentilium* (1472), and Strabo's *Geography* in the Latin version by Guarino of Verona, and Gregorio of Tiferno (1472). It is curious that in the Cicero, while spaces were left for the Greek clauses, yet Greek type is actually once used. Of the Boccaccio there were two issues, the copy now before me differing somewhat from that in the University Library.

Of books in the beautiful printing of Nic. Jenson, a Frenchman who had settled at Venice, there are, I rejoice to say, a goodly collection, most of which we owe to Mr Grylls. The earliest is Eusebius' *De Evangelica Præparatione*, in the Latin translation of George of Trebizond, and Justin's *Epitome*, both of 1470. Besides these, I would specially note a copy of the edition of

Cæsar's *Commentaries*, printed in 1471; the Quintilian of the same year; the Macrobius of 1472, interesting as giving for the first time portions of the Greek text of Homer; and the beautiful edition of the *Natural History* of Pliny (1472), of which we are fortunate enough to possess two copies. Side by side with one of these stands a copy of the Italian version of Pliny by Christopher Landino, printed by Jenson in 1476, and dedicated to Ferdinand, king of Naples. An edition may also be noticed of the *Epistles* of the younger Pliny, printed in 1471, which, though no place of printing or printer's name is given, is generally referred to the press of Christopher Valdarfer, before he left Venice for Milan. At any rate, this edition was supervised by Lud. Carbo, who is known to have been at that time Valdarfer's corrector for the press.

One early Venetian printer, Adam of Ambergau, is represented by one book, of some degree of rarity, an edition of Cicero's *Orationes*, printed in 1472. Of Franc. Renner's press, I shall only refer to one book, an edition of the Vulgate, printed in 1476. I mention this partly because of the great beauty of the miniature and illuminated capitals in it, and also because of the MS. notes in it, which shew the history of the copy. From one note, consisting of six lines in Latin hexameters, we find it was given by a nobleman, "Michael Casalis

dictus ab arce," to his sisters Julia, Theodora, and Constance :—

"Et quas claustrum continet alnum
Septum Bononiæ celsis ab mœnibus, in quo
Patris Dominici subeunt vestigia vitæ."

The gap, both here and in the following note, is due to careful erasure of the name, which I have altogether failed to decipher, after spending a considerable amount of time over it. The other notice was, "La M'. S. Nicola Priora del M° [evidently *monasterio*, as in the entry in the other volume the word is *convento*]...1528, ha concesso questa biblia a consolatione del predicto M° intendendo che persona alcuna in casa ne fora del casa se laproprii." Thus the three sisters were nuns in Bologna, but of what convent, and whether one afterwards became the prioress, and under what circumstances her strict charge was set at nought, must remain unknown. How little the poor lady dreamt that her treasure (now, I regret to say, in modern binding) would be after long years the valued possession of a library so far away! I have failed hitherto to identify the donor, Michael, and should be glad to hear of anything that may be known of him from the above few data.

Of the press of Jac. Rubeus (Jacomo de Rossi) may be mentioned a copy of Laur. Valla's translation of Herodotus (1474) which formerly belonged to Porson,

and has some notes in his neat writing. When speaking of books printed at Augsburg, I referred to Erhard Ratdolt, a native of that place. He practised his trade first at Venice and then at his native place. The earliest work of his in the Library is the *Kalendarium* of Regiomontanus, of which two editions, Latin and Italian, were printed in 1476. These contain two leaves of cardboard; on one of these is "Lo instrumento de le hore inæquale" and "Lo instrumento del vero moto de la luna," illustrated by moveable circular discs of card; on the other is "El quadrante del horologio horizontale," and "El quadrato generale de le hore," furnished with a moveable brass pointer. As has been already said, Erhard Ratdolt generally printed astronomical and astrological works. Thus we have of his printing the *editio princeps* of Euclid of 1482 (*i.e.* in the Latin, the Greek was not printed till 1533), the *Tabulæ* of Alfonso, the learned king of Castile (1483), and the *Astronomicon* of Hyginus (1485). Besides these I will specially note a book of considerable rarity—an early work on arithmetic—Piero Borgi's *La Nobel Opera de Arithmetica* (1484). It may be mentioned that Brunet (whom Graesse copies as usual) speaks of this book as containing 112 leaves; it really contains 118. Of works of a different description proceeding from Erhard Ratdolt's press I will cite Appian, in the Latin version

of Candidus (1477), and Jerome's Latin version of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius (1483).

The later Venetian printers of our period must be dismissed with few words. I may mention the edition of Silius Italicus, with notes of Pet. Marsi, printed by Bapt. de Tortis in 1483; the *Triumphs*, *Sonetti*, and *Canzoni* of Petrarch, from the press of Bernardino da Novara (1488); and a fragment of the Sarum Missal of 1494, printed by John Hertzog for Frederic Egmont. I will also refer to a book by the last-named printer—Regiomontanus's *Epitoma in Almagestum Ptolomæi*—to shew how loose are the notions of some bibliographers as to what a conscientious description of a book means. Graesse (IV. 588) speaks of this book as having 167 leaves; it really has 110. The 167 is obviously due to following Hain, where, however, it is a mere misprint for 107, as may be seen by reading the article. Hain simply took no account of the last blank leaf, and his copy apparently wanted two unsigned leaves at the beginning, which contained a prefatory letter, and which may have been meant to have been inserted between ff. 1 and 2. The edition of Livy printed by Phil. Pincio in 1495 is worthy of notice. Like several preceding editions, it follows the text of John Andreas, bishop of Aleria, and is enriched with 174 woodcuts, believed to be due to Mantegna.

Of Aldines, the College possesses a very rich collection. Thus, the well-known work of Renouard (*Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde*; Paris, 1834) contains (if we include the books printed for the *Accademia Veneziana*, but not the Lyons and other counterfeits, or the books published for Turrisanus at Paris) 1169 entries; and some of these are certainly of imaginary editions. The Library possesses 630¹ Aldines, exclusive of duplicates, and of these not less than seventeen are of the fifteenth century, including the very rare Greek *Horæ* of 1497. In this reckoning I treat the five volumes of Aristotle as one work.

Of printers who commenced their art at Venice after Aldus may be mentioned Barth. Justinopolitanus and his colleagues, of whom we have, in Greek, the *Epistles* of Phalaris, &c. (1498), and the *Fables* of Æsop, with the life by Max. Planudes. To Nic. Blastus and his partners we owe other Greek works, the *Etymologicum Magnum* of 1499, the *Simplicius* of 1499, and the *Ammonius* of 1500. With one other book our remarks on Venetian printers may close—the *Isolario* of Barth. Zamberto da li Soneti. This book, which has neither place nor date

¹ It may be worth noting that two of these are not given in Renouard at all: Jo. Bapt. Folengii, *Commentaria in primam D. Joannis Epistolam*, 1559. Ascanio Persio, *La corona d' Arrigo III. Re di Francia e di Polonia*, 1574. The latter does not bear the name of Aldus, but has the well-known woodcut of Roma and the wolf used by the younger Aldus.

of printing, nor yet printer's name, but which was certainly printed at Venice about 1480, contains forty-nine woodcut maps of the islands of the Ægean Sea. The date of the book can be approximated to from the fact that it is dedicated to John Mocenigo, who was Doge from 1478-1485. The present copy once belonged to the Doge Foscari.

The year 1471 was an eventful one in the history of Italian printing. It saw presses introduced into Bologna, Ferrara, Florence, Milan, Naples, Pavia, and Treviso. Of Bolognese books our chief treasures are Ovid's *Fasti* (1471), and the *Libro de la Divina Providentia* of St Catharine of Siena (1472?), printed by Balth. Azoguidi, the proto-typographer of Bologna; and the *Astronomicon* of Manilius, printed by Ugo Rugerius and his partner. I may also refer to two editions of works of that "admirable Crichton" of his day—Joh. Picus Mirandola—the *Disputationes adversus Astrologiam Divinatricem*, and his *Commentationes*. Of these, editions were printed by Bened. Hectoris in 1495 and 1496 respectively. Besides these, there is also before me an edition of the above, bearing the same printer's name and the same date as regards the latter work—March 20, 1496—the other work being undated. This latter edition is generally assumed to be a counterfeit or pirated edition, printed from the foregoing, from

which it differs in many points of detail, though presenting a general resemblance. The counterfeit is a folio of 236 leaves. I will further note a Latin version of sundry Greek *opuscula*, the *Tabula* of Cebes, the *Dial. de Virtute* of Lucian, &c., printed by Bened. Hectoris in 1497, and Angelo Politian's Latin version of Herodian, printed by Plato de Benedictis in 1493. The last two books are described in the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* (II. 38; III. 250). Finally, there may be mentioned a curious little comedy, the *Scornetta* of Herm. Knuyt de Slyterhoven, printed by Hier. de Benedictis in 1497. This is often wrongly cited as *Scorretta*, through a mistake of Molini (p. 112).

Of early Ferrara books there are but few. It will suffice to mention the *Astronomicon* of Hyginus, printed by Aug. Carnerius in 1475, and the *Life and Epistles* of St Jerome, in the Italian version of Matheo da Ferrara. This was printed by Lor. de Rossi in 1497. It is perhaps worth noting that there must have been several slightly varying impressions of this edition, for some copies are said to be dedicated to the Doge of Venice, Ag. Barbadico, and others to Eleonora d' Este, Duchess of Ferrara. In the copy now before me, however, there is, on the page cited as containing the dedication (the *verso* of fol. 5), a full-page woodcut of St Jerome. In a large woodcut border on the *recto* of fol. 6, and again

near the end of the book, is the date 1493, presumably that of the engraving, but I can find no trace of the date 1494, spoken of by Graesse (III. 275).

Of early Florentine printing there is here much of interest. Of the proto-typographer, Bern. Cennini, I can produce nothing; and of the next in order, John of Maintz (Joh. Petri de Maganza), but one book of late date, an edition of the *Imitatio Christi* (1497), here attributed to John Gerson. From the press, however, of Nicolas of Breslau (Nic. Laurentii, Nicolo Tedesco) several of interest may be cited: (1) Celsus, edited by Barth. Fontius (1478); (2) Berlinghieri's *Geographia in Terza Rima*, with its thirty-one maps engraved on copper, a large folio, undated, but printed about 1480; (3) the Dante of 1481. This edition, a large folio, is the earliest published with Landino's commentary, and contains copper-plate engravings by Baccio Baldini, from the designs of Sandro Botticelli. Of these the number varies in different copies, the two in the College Library containing only the two that are generally found at the beginning of the first and second cantos of the *Inferno*. In the copy in the Grylls collection there are also twenty-one small coloured illustrations, cut from a MS. and pasted on to the margin. Our two copies, though bearing the same date (August 30, 1481), do not agree absolutely. Of the beautiful

editio princeps of Homer, printed in 1488 at the expense of the brothers Nerli, two copies are in the Library, one in the Raine and the other in the Grylls collection. The latter of these contains so large an amount of capitals and borders, richly illuminated in gold, that it must have been a presentation copy to some person of rank, possibly to Lorenzo de' Medici himself. The modern binding, however, has taken away any possible clue. A passing notice may suffice for the Italian version of the *Jewish War* of Josephus, printed by Bartholomeo P(resbitero) in 1497; and I would next refer to a printer whose works are always eagerly sought after, Laur. Francisci de Alopa. Of his printing we are fortunate in possessing the Greek *Anthology* of Planudes, Apollonius Rhodius, Callimachus, Euripides, and the Greek *Gnomæ* and Musæus. As is well known, the Greek text of these books is printed in capital letters throughout, the scholia being in smaller letters. Copies of the first of the above-named books are very generally found with one quire wanting, containing the dedicatory letter. This in perfect copies is ordinarily found at the end, but in that one of our copies which is complete it comes at the beginning. The reason why this quire is so frequently wanting is believed to be that the dedication, dated August, 1494, is addressed to Pietro de' Medici, who in the September

of that year was driven from Florence by the French under Charles VIII. Thus, naturally, only the copies sold before the expulsion would contain the dedication.

To another of our copies of the above a very special interest attaches, from the mass of MS. notes it contains in the handwriting of the elder Aldus and his brother-in-law Francis d' Asola, and it is certainly the copy from which was printed the Aldine *Anthology* of 1503. The last sixteen leaves are wanting, and Renouard, to whom this copy once belonged, and who has described it in his *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde* (p. 42), suggests that they may have been lost during the progress of printing. These are replaced by thirty-three pages of MS., entirely in the writing of Aldus, and are followed by twelve pages containing the fresh matter given in the edition of 1503. On the first blank page of the book has been written τοῦ κυρίου ἄλδου τοῦ μανουτίου, below which is the familiar anchor and dolphin.

I will next mention a book printed by Piero Pacini in 1496, the *Compendio di Revelatione dello inutile servo di Jesu Christi Frate Hieronymo da Ferrara* (Savonarola). This scarce edition is a small quarto of forty-eight leaves, with six curious woodcuts. The reference in Brunet is to the present copy. Two Greek books

belong to this part of our subject—the Orphic hymns, &c., printed by Phil. Junta in 1500, and the Lucian of 1496, bearing no printer's name. The Greek type of this latter work is apparently the same with that in which the scholia to the Apollonius Rhodius and Callimachus of Laur. Francisci de Alopa were printed. The title-page of this book is generally believed to be a later addition. It mentions Philostratus as well as Lucian, and it is supposed that Junta published some copies of his edition of Philostratus of 1517 with this earlier edition of Lucian prefixed, and had title-pages for each of the two cases. The original first leaf of the Lucian is unknown.

The last Florentine book I shall mention is one of which the present copy is apparently the only one known—the *Credo che Dante fece quando fu accusato per heretico allo Inquisitore a Ravenna*. It bears no place or date of printing or printer's name, but was evidently printed at Florence, and probably about 1490. It is a small quarto of four leaves, in Gothic letters, bearing on the title-page a woodcut of Dante and of Florence. The reference in the supplementary volume of Brunet (p. 346) is undoubtedly to this copy.

Unlike those of Rome or Venice, the earliest printers at Milan were Italians, Phil. de Lavagnia of Milan and Ant. Zarotto of Parma; the former, however, probably

being in the first instance the patron of the latter rather than the actual proto-typographer. Two books bearing Phil. de Lavagnia's name in the imprint are in the Library, Lucan's *Pharsalia* and Vergerius' *De Ingeniis Moribus*, both printed in 1477. Of Ant. Zarotto's press there are a considerable number, the earliest being an edition of the *Letters* of Pius II. during his episcopate, printed in 1473—a large quarto, though generally called a folio. I may also mention the edition of Æsop's *Fables*, in the Latin version of Rimicius (1476), and that of Livy, from the text of Joh. Andreas, bishop of Aleria (1480), Simoneta's *Commentaria Rerum Gestarum Fran. Sphortiae* (circa 1480), and the Quintus Curtius (1481). The Æsop and Livy are from the Libri sale of 1859, and the latter is richly adorned with illuminated initials.

Not long subsequent to these printers came a German of Ratisbon, Christopher Valdarfer, who moved from Venice to Milan in 1474, and who is well known as the printer of the famous edition of Boccaccio. The only work from his press in the Library is the *Interrogatorium* of Barth. de Chaimis (1474). Of the numerous products of the press of Ulderic Sincenzeler in this Library I will mention but one, which is not often met with, the *Loica Vulgare in Dialogo* of Jac. Camphara (1497).

Of more general interest, however, will be the early

specimens of Greek printing which we owe to Milan, such as the first edition of the Greek text of Æsop (with an accompanying Latin version), in the recension of Buono Accorso. This edition has the signatures in the Greek part in the extreme lower margin of the page. It was published about the year 1480. I may name also the Greco-Latin Psalter of 1481, the first edition of any part of Holy Scripture in Greek, thus being subsequent to the Hebrew (of which the first printed Psalter appeared in 1477), and, of course, long subsequent to the Latin. We also have the *editio princeps* of Isocrates (printed in 1493 by Henricus Germanus, whom some have identified with Ulderich Sinczenzeler), and the *editio princeps* of the *Lexicon* of Suidas, printed by Demetrius Chalcondylas and his partners in 1499.

The only other Milanese book I shall mention is the *Sanctuarium* of Mombricitus, a prototype of the great *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists. This book, though having neither place nor date of printing, was certainly printed at Milan, and that not later than 1479; the evidence as to the date being derived from the fact that the book is dedicated to Cicho Simoneta, who was imprisoned in 1479, and executed in 1480.

Although printing was practised at Naples in 1471, and several printers carried on their trade there, we unfortunately possess only three works of Neapolitan

printing, and those all from the same press, that of Sextus Riessinger, whose name, however, does not actually occur in any of them. They are also all undated, but 1472 may be given as the approximate date of all three. They are the *Epistles and Tractates* of St Jerome, from the recension of Theod. Lelius, Pliny *De Viris Illustribus*, and Franc. Aretino's Latin version of the *Epistles* of Phalaris.

Passing over Pavia, from the presses of which there is nothing of special interest in our possession, I come to Treviso, where printing was first practised in 1471. Of the proto-typographer, Gerard de Lisa (Van de Leye), a Fleming, we possess two works, the first edition of a book otherwise known as the *Poemander*, *Mercurius Trismegistus de Potestate et Sapientia Dei*, in the Latin version of Marsilius Ficinus, printed in 1471; and the *Epistolæ Magni Turci*, printed about 1472. Of the works of later Trevisan printers, I may cite the edition of Seneca's *Moralia*, printed by Bern. de Colonia in 1478, and the Latin translation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, by Lappus Biragus, printed by Bernardinus de Luere in 1480.

Only one year later in their recognition of the new art than the towns we have now been considering come Cremona, Mantua, Padua, and Parma, of all of which representatives are here. Of the first, however, there

is nothing¹ which need detain us, and of Mantua I will only mention an edition of a once well-used book, the *Expositio Problematum Aristotelis* of Pet. de Abano (of this there is an edition printed in 1475 by Paul Joh. de Puzpach, probably the real proto-typographer); and also our one specimen of fifteenth-century Hebrew printing, the commentary of Rabbi Levi ben Gershom (Ralbag) on the Pentateuch, printed by Abraham Conath about 1476.

Of Paduan books may be noted Aurispa's Latin version of the commentary of Hierocles, *In Aureos Versus Pythagoræ*, printed by the proto-typographer, Barth. de Valdezoccho, in 1474. The signatures to this book are placed in the bottom right-hand corner of the leaf. Of Parma there are here the Solinus, printed by And. Portilia, the proto-typographer, in 1480; and the *Bucolica* of Calphurnius and Nemesianus, printed by Aug. Ugoletto about 1490. It may be mentioned that Brunet is in error in saying that the first leaf of the latter work is blank; it contains the title *Bucolica Calphurnii et Nemesiani*.

Of works from the presses of Brescia, where printing was first practised in 1473, there are here a considerable number. I shall only mention, however, the *Commentaria Grammatica* of Laur. Valla, printed by Eustacius Gallus in 1475; and two works from the press of Bo-

ninus de Boninis, the *Saturnalia*, &c., of Macrobius, and the poems of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, printed in 1485 and 1486 respectively. From the press of Jac. Britannicus we have an edition, printed in 1485, of the *Imitatio Christi*, which is ascribed to St Bernard, though the claim of Joh. Gerson is also referred to.

The Vicenza books are of some interest. They include the *Dita Mundi* of Fazio degli Uberti, printed by Leonardus Achates of Basle, the proto-typographer of Vicenza, in 1474, the year after he had set up his press in Vicenza. The present copy was doubtless intended for presentation to some great personage, for the title is printed in gold. Another product of this printer's press is one which has given rise to a good deal of discussion, an edition of Petrarch's *Sonetti, Canzoni e Trionfi*, dated 1474. It bears the printer's name (Leonardus Achates Basiliensis), but not the place of printing. Several bibliographers, Dibdin and others, have been misled by the reference to Basle, which is merely given as the birthplace of the printer. Others again have suggested Venice, because of the mention of the name of the reigning Doge in the imprint; but there is no evidence of our printer having ever exercised his art at Venice, and there cannot really be much doubt that the book was printed at Vicenza or at Sant' Ursino, in its immediate neighbourhood, this being Venetian

territory, so that the mention of the Doge's name is natural enough. This book is generally spoken of as being without signatures; it has them, but they were placed below a very deep margin, and so would generally be cut off in the binding. There are also copies of the edition of Orosius by Æneas Vulpes printed about 1475, and of that of Ovid from the text of Buono Accorso, printed in 1480, both from the press of Hermann Lichtenstein of Cologne.

Of books printed at Modena in the fifteenth century there is here but one, the *Poems* of Bapt. Guarini, printed in 1496 by Dominic Rocociola; and there is also one from the little town of Colle, near Florence ("in Colle oppido municipio Florentino"), the *editio princeps* of the *Halieutica* of Oppian in the Latin version of Laur. Lippus of Colle, printed by Bonus Gallus in 1478, the year of the introduction of printing into Colle; being, indeed, the second book printed there. Of books printed at Rhegium I may note an edition of Tibullus, Catullus, and Propertius, printed by Prosper Odoardus and Alb. de Mazalis, both natives of Rhegium, in 1481. There is also an edition of part of the works of Appian, in the Latin translation of Pet. Candidus, printed by Franc. de Mazalibus in 1494.

The last Italian town I shall name here is Scandiano, to which printing did not penetrate till 1495, and

of which we have one fifteenth century book, an edition of the works of Appian, not included in the last-mentioned edition, and therefore forming a second part to it. It was printed in 1495 by the proto-typographer Peregr. Pasquali. The date is expressed in a curious way, MCCCCLCXV: we cannot doubt, however, that it should mean 1495, from the occurrence of the words "Camillo Boiardo Comite" in the imprint. It would seem that the only count of that name was the son of the famous author of the *Orlando*, who succeeded his father in 1494 and died in 1499.

There are in the Library about a score of fifteenth century books of whose Italian origin we can have no doubt, or but little doubt, while yet it is impossible to feel any certainty as to the particular press. A few of these may be mentioned:—(1) An edition not described by Hain, or so far as I know, by any bibliographer, of the *Somnium de Fortuna* of Æneas Silvius, apparently printed about 1470. A point of peculiarity in the type in which the book is printed is that the *i* is undotted. (2) An edition of Albertus Magnus, *De Secretis Naturæ*, probably printed about 1490, is also apparently not described in Hain. (3) A copy of an edition of Thomas Aquinas, *Quæstiones de Potentia Dei*, &c. (printed about 1490), once belonging to the monastery of St Mary at Cupar, for which it was purchased by its abbot, John

Schanwell [1480—1507]. (4) Bonacioli's *Enneas Mu-
liebris*, though reckoned among *incunabula* by Hain
and Panzer, is apparently an early sixteenth century
work, for it is dedicated to Lucretia Borgia as Duchess
of Ferrara, whereas she did not obtain her title till
1502. (5) An edition of the work *Fiore de Virtude*,
whose authorship is quite unknown, though referred to
Tomaso Leoni, Franc. Sacchetti, and others. The
present edition was apparently printed about 1477. On
the last page of the copy before me is written, in a
contemporaneous hand, "Si pater est Adam et mater
omnibus Eva, Cur non sunt omnes nobilitate pares."
(6) Bernardo de Granollachs, *El Summario de la Luna*,
dated 1489, but with no place of printing or printer's
name. Our copy of this work is, so far as I am aware,
unique, and was bought in the Libri sale of 1857, having
previously formed part of the Boutourlin collection.
The work is of an astrological character, and for this
purpose gives the various details as to the moon's age,
&c., through each month, and for a series of years,
beginning from 1489. The author describes himself as
"maistro in arte ed in medicina della inclyta citta de
Barcelona," for which city the results would be pre-
sumably calculated in the first instance, and on the last
leaf is a table to adapt them to various Italian towns.
(7) The *Macharonea* of Tiphis Odaxius printed about

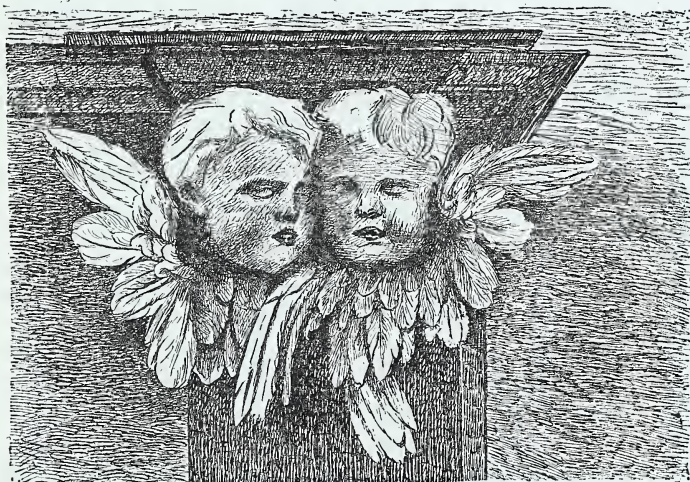
1490. All bibliographers, deriving, apparently, their knowledge from the Pinelli catalogue, have spoken of this book as without signatures; whereas it has them on a level with, and to the right of, the last line in the page. Brunet and Graesse also speak of the title *Ma-charonea* as fictitious, whereas it is present on the first page in Roman capitals. (8) An edition of Plautus, edited by Ducius and Galbiatus, printed about 1500; this edition is described in the *Bibl. Spenc.*, II. 250. (9) An edition of Luca Pulci's *Driadeo d' Amore* in Gothic type, printed about 1490.

The only other country at all represented in the college list of *incunabula* is Spain, which is represented by a single book printed at Salamanca. Printing found its way into Spain in 1475, and to Salamanca in 1485; our present book, however, is only just within our limit, bearing the date March 17, 1500. The book is the *Speculum Ecclesiæ* of Hugo de S. Charo, the good cardinal to whom we owe the chapters of our Bibles. No printer's name is given, and I have not yet succeeded in finding anything to help me to determine who he was.

The last book I shall mention in the present list is one which has long been a puzzle to me—an edition of Cato with the exposition of Remigius. The general character of the printing and the absence of signatures

would dispose me to assign it a comparatively early date, say 1470-75. Beyond that I should not wish to speak positively, even as to the country. The type, which is a curious and very thick Roman letter, is quite different from anything I have ever seen elsewhere.

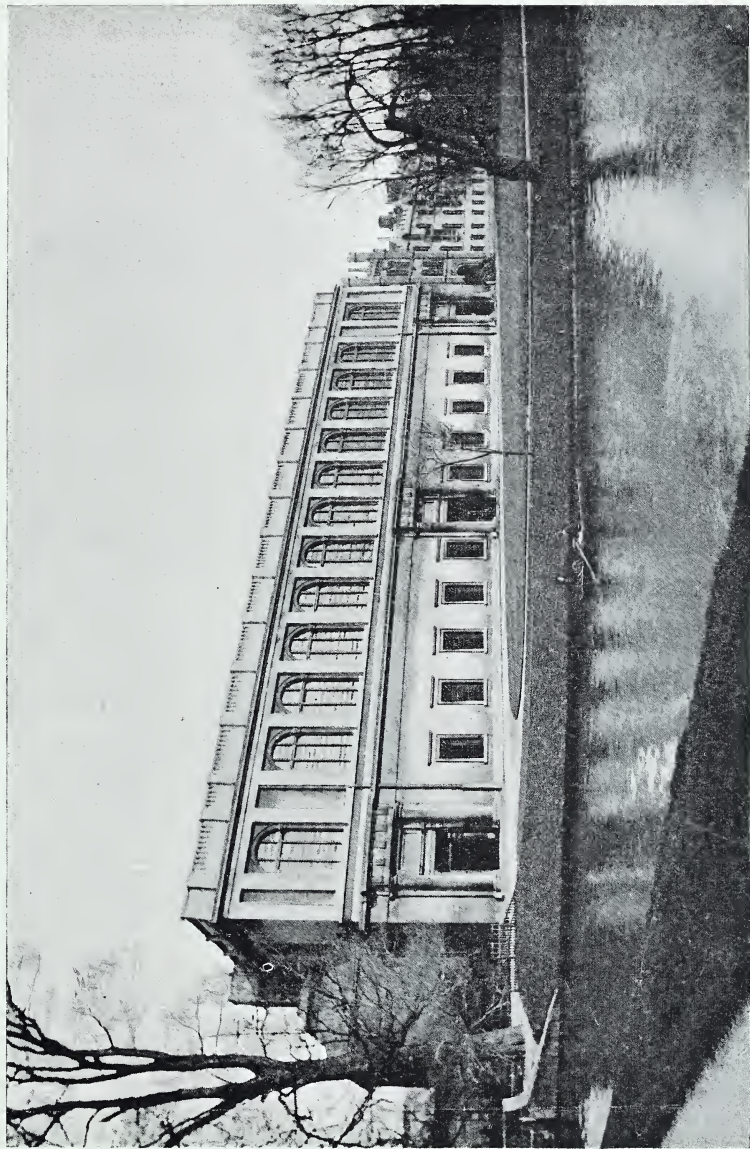
With this, my survey of the *incunabula* of the Library, already extended, I fear, to too great a length, must come to an end, and we must now pass on to consider some of the rarer and less known of the early English books in the Library.



CHAPTER V.

EARLY ENGLISH PRINTED BOOKS.

I SHALL now proceed to notice briefly some of the more interesting specimens of early English printing, or of books in some sense connected with England, other than *incunabula*. And first as to translations of the Bible or part thereof into English. Here the first place must be taken by a copy of Tindale's New Testament, of the edition of November, 1534, printed at Antwerp by "Marten Emperowr." This is No. 4 in Mr Lea Wilson's catalogue. Another edition of the New Testament of some value is one with the English and Latin in parallel columns, printed at Southwark in 1538 by James Nicolson. The translation in this case is Coverdale's, and the present is a copy of the second of the two editions printed by Nicolson in 1538. It has usually been stated that a sufficient test to distinguish the two editions is that the title to the first is printed in black and red, and Coverdale is named as the translator; while in the second the title is wholly in black, and



THE LIBRARY FROM THE RIVER.

To face p. 86.

bears the name of John Hollybush as the translator. There is no doubt, however, that this is a mistake, and that both editions alike had the title in black and red, and bore the name of Coverdale. In some copies this title was cancelled, and a fresh one printed entirely in black and bearing the name of Hollybush was substituted. In the present copy, the first leaf is on quite different paper from the rest of the quire.

A curious edition of the Bible is one of Cranmer's version, or the Great Bible (the version whence our Prayer-Book Psalter is taken), printed in 1553 in exceedingly small Gothic type by Richard Grafton, for which in some copies are the names of Whitchurch and Grafton conjointly in the imprint. The daily lessons to be read in churches are indicated in the margin. Of Matthew's version there are two editions, both folios printed in the same year, 1549, one by Day and Seres, bearing the date August 17, and the other by Thomas Raynalde and William Hyll, dated October 31. The former of these was edited by Edmund Becke. There is also an edition of what claims on the title-page to be Matthew's version printed by John Day, with the date May 23, 1551, which is really, as Mr Lea Wilson (No. 20) points out, of Taverner's in the Old Testament (save from Deut. xxxi. to Josh. xxiii. and in the Psalms). The New Testament is Tindale's.

An edition of the Bishops' Bible printed by Jugge in 1572 may be mentioned, containing copper-plate portraits of Queen Elizabeth, Lord Leicester and Lord Burleigh, as well as a copper-plate map of Canaan and Egypt engraved by Humfray Cole. It is unnecessary to refer to later editions of the Bible, such as those of the Genevan version, which are of comparatively common occurrence, save an edition of Tomson's revision of 1599. Mr Lea Wilson calls attention to no less than six different impressions of this version of 1599, all quarto and in Roman letter (Nos. 79-84), but the copy now before me is different from all of them.

I now pass on to speak of Service Books of the pre-Reformation and Reformation period. Although we cannot boast even a fragment of any service book of the rarer uses of York and Hereford, yet Sarum is not badly represented. To begin with Missals: the earliest which we can cite is unfortunately but a fragment, belonging to the octavo edition printed at Venice in 1494 by John Hertzog for Frederick Egmont. The next in order of time is Pynson's magnificent folio edition of 1500, printed on vellum, which has been already described. The only other edition of the Sarum Missal in the Library is a folio, printed at Paris in 1519 by Pierre Olivier for Jacques Cousin. In this copy the two leaves of sig. q are printed on vellum; the *canon*

beginning on the *recto* of q 2, while a full-page woodcut of the Crucifixion occupies the preceding page.

Of the Sarum Breviary there are two editions here, both printed at Paris, one the gigantic folio printed for Claude Chevallon and François Regnault in 1531, which is taken as the basis of the recently published edition by Messrs Procter and Wordsworth. The other is an octavo printed by Jean le Blanc for Guillaume Merlin in 1557.

Next to these may be mentioned a book of extreme rarity, the Sarum Antiphonary, printed in Paris in 1519 by Wolfgang Hopyl for Francis Byrckman of London. Our copy is unfortunately most imperfect, consisting of the *Pars Hyemalis* only, and much of this, including the whole of the *Proprium de Sanctis*, is wanting. The history of the volume is curious. About thirty years ago a number of books in one of the less-used parts of the Library were noticed to be furnished with fly-leaves, which evidently had formed part of some church service book. These were recognized by Mr Bradshaw as belonging to the very rare Sarum Antiphonary, and the leaves were taken out and arranged for binding. The volume of the *Pars Hyemalis* in the British Museum formerly belonged to St Cuthbert's College, at Ushaw. This, too, is not quite perfect, but, of course, far more so than the present copy; though some of the missing

leaves in the Museum copy are among those existing in the Trinity copy. The only other copy known is in the library of Christ Church, Oxford; and the Museum possesses the only copy as yet known of the *Pars Estivalis*.

We possess one *Manual* of the Sarum Use, printed at Rouen, that great mart for service books, for Robert Valentin, in 1554. This was recently given to the Library by Mr S. Sandars.

Of Horæ there are two to mention, both of Sarum. One, apparently unique, is of the year 1498, and was printed at Paris by J. Jehannot for Nic. Lecomte. This forms part of a volume, bound about the middle of the sixteenth century, containing also the unique "Godly Psalme of Marye Queene," by Richard Beearde (1553), with its quaint and sweet musical setting, and an edition of the Epistles and Gospels, to which I shall again refer. The other Horæ is one printed by Ger. Hardouyn, without date, but presumably in 1528, as the almanac is for the fourteen years 1528-1542. This volume, which is printed on vellum and richly illuminated, containing no less than twelve large and eighteen small miniatures, must at one time have been a very charming possession. The binding is edged with broad ornamental borders of silver, which were originally gilt. To these were attached two silver clasps, only one of

which now remains, set with a jacinth; and in the middle of each side is a silver boss set with the same stone. The book was the gift of Dame Anne Sadleir, the daughter of Sir Edward Coke, to whom reference was made in an earlier chapter.

A place may be claimed by a copy of the *Expositio Sequentiarum*, according to the Use of Sarum; the companion *Expositio Hymnarum* is unfortunately wanting. The edition is that printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1514. Of the *Liber Festivalis*, with its accompanying *Quatuor Sermones*, are two editions, both by the above-named printer; the former printed in 1493 "in Westmonesterio," while De Worde was yet living in Caxton's house, and not long after Caxton's death. The other bears the date 1532, only a few years before De Worde's death, and was printed "in Fletestrete at the sygne of the Sonne."

No service book is more interesting than the Primer, from the wider and more popular nature of its use. The earliest of these in the Library is one of the Sarum use, printed at Paris, without printer's name, in 1538. To this Primer, which is in English and Latin, are appended, as usual, Hierom of Ferrara's (Savonarola) "Exposition of the Fifty-first Psalm," &c., and the "Pystles and Gospels." Although later in point of time than the succeeding, yet the Marian primers, as representing the

older type, should naturally precede those due to the close of the reign of Henry VIII. Of the two Marian Primers in the Library, both of which are in Latin and English, one was printed by John Wayland in 1555, "in Fletestrete at the sygne of the Sunne." It is issued under the authority of Cardinal Pole, "to be only used of al the kyng and Quenes maiesties lovinge subiectes." The present copy presumably once belonged to Queen Mary herself; it is bound in leather, which once was white or cream coloured, with gauffred gilt edges. On each side, on which was once a rich gilt pattern, thickly sown with fleurs-de-lis, are the royal arms of England with "M. R." There is no clue as to how the book came into the College Library, but it is found entered in our oldest catalogue. The other edition of the Marian Primer is one printed at Rouen in 1555 by Jean le Prest for Robert Valentin.

A Primer of a very different description is that issued from Whitchurch's press in 1545, under the authority of Henry VIII. In this book is contained the earliest English form of our present Litany, with its petition against the "tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities." There are also the services of Matins and Evensong, from which our present services are developed. The Epistles and Gospels appended to this volume are from the press of John

Herforde. In conclusion may be cited an imperfect Primer, indeed one from which nearly the whole of the Primer proper is missing, but containing the Epistles and Gospels. This defect may perhaps be explained by the fact that bound up with this volume is the Sarum Horæ of 1498, which would thus take the place of the Primer. The present work was printed by William Bonham, "in Paules churche yarde," without date, but presumably about 1545.

Having thus briefly glanced at the various service books, a few remarks on one or two books of a devotional character may fitly follow. The *Speculum Christiani* of John Watton has already been referred to among the *incunabula*. A rare work of considerable interest is the *Pilgrimage of Perfection*, printed in 1526 by Pynson "in Fletestrete, besyde saynt Dunstans churchē." Several short treatises being inserted in this (the *Starre of Grace*, the *Tre of Vyce*, &c.), the collation of the work is rather intricate. This book affords an illustration of a practice uncommon among early printers, and by no means universally followed now, namely the use of what may for convenience be called a signature-title, that is an abbreviated form of the title printed in the lower margin on the *recto* or *rectos* at the beginning of a quire under much the same kind of condition as the signatures. The woodcuts in this volume, though quaint,

shew considerable force; for example, one of the Saviour bound seated on a rock in front of the cross. Bound up with this work as a companion volume is the *Rosary of our Saviour*, by the same printer. Another work of the same class is the well-known *Scala Perfectionis*, by Walter Hylton. The edition before me is that printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1533. There is a woodcut on the title-page of the Saviour standing by the cross with a monk kneeling. Below are the words, forming part of the woodcut and not printed with type, "The greatest comfort in al temptacyon, Is the remēbraunce of Crystes passyon." The book is bound up with two similar works, and this grouping has perhaps led to an erroneous conclusion. The three works which make up the volume are by three different printers. Now, in some of our early catalogues, the composite character of the book not having been observed, it is entered with the title belonging to the first of the three combined with the date and printer's name from the imprint of the last (Henry Pepwell, 1521), the book in the middle being ignored. Now, the books of reference (*e.g.* Herbert, p. 316) cite an edition of the *Scala Perfectionis* as printed by Pepwell in 1521; but I have so far not found anyone referring to a definite copy. While, of course, I do not deny the possibility of there being such an edition, it also seems quite possible, considering how much in-

formation Herbert received from Cambridge, that this notice rests on the mistake I have already mentioned. While on this subject of books referred to the wrong printer, I will venture to digress a moment to notice a case which puzzled me for a long time. The translation of Thucydides (or rather of the French version of it) by Thomas Nicolls has been assigned from the time of Ames downwards to the press of John Wayland, and the grounds of this assignment seemed very unaccountable; and Herbert (p. 560) enters it, under protest, as it were, simply on Ames's authority. There is nothing in the book which in any way connects it with Wayland. A little time ago I came upon what is evidently the true solution of the matter. In Mr Hazlitt's second series of *Bibliographical Collections and Notes* (p. 598) is a notice of this work, where after a transcript of the title-page follows a colophon including John Wayland's name. Possessing, as I do, a copy of the work, and knowing that on the *verso* of the last leaf but one a colophon occurred with no printer's name, I supposed for the moment that there must have been two different (at any rate in this respect) editions of the work in 1550. On reading on, however, I found that Mr Hazlitt's colophon was "taken from the title-page preserved in Harl. MS. 5919 [one of John Bagford's volumes]. *It is there pasted on to the foot of the leaf* [the italics are mine],

and is in the same type as the rest. Herbert places the book under Wayland [Herbert's manner of citing the book I have already given]. It seems to have been Bagford's practice, in many cases, to annex the colophon in this way." The evidence thus reduces itself to this: Bagford, a man who well deserved the pillory—who tore titles and colophons wholesale from rare books in various libraries—has happened to paste together a certain title-page and colophon, through a mistake that might easily arise as he sorted his ill-gotten gains, while he had not the book itself at hand to guide him. The colophon Mr Hazlitt quotes has nothing, and can have nothing, to do with the book unless we suppose two different issues, of which there is no trace, though the book is fairly common. To one with a perfect copy of the book before him the alleged identity of type (a very ordinary everyday sort of a large black-letter, which it would be dangerous to argue from) is altogether irrelevant as to the connexion of the stolen colophon with the present book.

To return to the volume containing the *Scala Perfectionis* and its two companions. The second and middle work is one of which I can find no copy beside the present. It is a tract of four leaves, printed in a rather rude black-letter, entitled *A devout Intercession [sic] and praier to our Saviour Jesu Christ*. It was

S^r

The inclosed is the Scholium w^{ch} I promised to send you, to be added to the end of the book. I intended to have said much more about the attraction of the small particles of bodies, but upon second thoughts I have chose rather to add but one short Paragraph about that part of Philosophy. This Scholium finishes the book. The cut for the Court of 1680 is going to be rolled off. I am

London
~~Printed~~
23 March
1713.

Y^r most humble & obedient

Servant

Isaac Newton.

Letter of Newton to Cotes.

printed "in Durham rentes by Richard Fawkes," and is without a date, but was presumably printed about 1525-30. On the title-page is a woodcut of our Lord, standing arrayed in a cope, giving the blessing with His right hand, and with the orb in His left. In the upper corners of the cut are God the Father and the Dove. The remaining work in the volume is, I fancy, exceedingly rare. It is entitled "A veray deuoute treatyse (named Benyamyn)...by a noble and famous doctoure...named Rycharde of Saynt Vyctor," but contains other treatises not mentioned on the title-page, as "Dyvers doctrynes taken out of the lyfe of...Saynt Katheryn of Seenes," "A shorte treatyse of a deuoute ancrs called Margerye Kempe of Lynne," "A deuoute treatyse compyled by mayster Walter Hylton of the songe of aungelles," &c. The volume contains several curious woodcuts, *e.g.* one on the title-page of the Saviour standing by the cross with the various emblems of the Passion; also one of Saint Katherine of Siena kneeling at her desk.

The last work of this kind I shall mention is the curious *Tree and xii fruytes of the holy Goost*, printed by Robert Copland in 1534-5. It is worthy of remark that the second part of this work ("the xii fruytes") has on its imprint, "Enprynted by Robert Copland and Myghell Fawkes." The latter printer's name I have never come across elsewhere.

When one reflects on the subject of rare English books, and remembers that every old library in the country of any size is sure to have books in it not to be found elsewhere, one cannot help wondering at the hurry sometimes shewn to get a complete catalogue of English literature made all at once, with the chief point to be settled being to what date the catalogue shall be brought, 1600, 1603, 1640, &c. I venture to think that, on the "first catch your hare" principle, there is an imperative necessity to do something more than has yet been done to know what we have got before we begin to catalogue. Three things strike one as desirable:—1. Careful essays on individual printers, following the line so admirably set in Mr Blades's *Caxton*. When such books exist as Renouard's on the Aldi and Stephens, and Pieters's and Willems's on the Elzevirs, why cannot some Englishman do the like for Wynkyn de Worde or Pynson? It is only by thus carefully directing the attention on a limited field that thoroughness can be got. The contrast between Mr Blades's and (say) Dibdin's treatment of Caxton's works teaches us that. 2. The growth of printing in various towns should be specially treated. Such works, by opening up different lines of information, may well run *pari passu* with the former. Such a work as Davies's *Memoir of the York Press* sets a very good example for local bibliographers to follow.

3. Too little is known in detail of the rarer treasures of most of our older libraries. If the librarians would even note down such English works and editions as are not given by the ordinary books of reference, such as Herbert and Lowndes, they would earn the gratitude of all working bibliographers. Perhaps some day Herbert's Ames may be re-edited, and rather more scientifically than it was by Dibdin; and we may get a new edition of Lowndes, a thing much to be wished for. To make either of such things what it ought to be, a good deal of such preliminary working as I have hinted at will have to be done¹.

Some works of a polemic character may next be mentioned. First among these may be named the once famous *Assertio septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*, which won for Henry VIII. the title of "Fidei Defensor" from Pope Leo X. Of this work there are several editions here; the first edition from the press of Pynson, "4 id. Jul.," 1521. A copy of this was presented to the Pope on September 21 of that year, by John Clerk, who acted as the king's orator at Rome on that occasion; and to some copies of this first edition

¹ Since the above words were originally written, the reproach has been partly wiped away by the appearance of a work, to which all bibliographers must feel very honest gratitude, the *Annals of Scottish Printing*, by Dr R. Dickson and Mr J. P. Edmond, a work reflecting the highest honour on its compilers.

of the *Assertio* is prefixed some additional matter, as the Pope's bull, and the promise of the indulgence to the readers of the book. (I note here in passing that John Clerk was a Cambridge man, B.A. 1499; but I learn from Dr Luard that the entry in the registry does not specify the college.) There is also a copy of an edition printed by Pynson, "17 kal. Feb." 1522, which, however, is *partly* made up of sheets struck off for the first edition. This is shewn by the fact that in many of the sheets the very obvious misprints of the first issue are left uncorrected, and also by defects in printing occurring in both copies alike. Some sheets, however, have clearly been set up anew. Besides these two is also a copy of the edition printed at Rome in 1521, under the special authority of the Pope.

Another work, bearing the name of Henry VIII., which may fairly be mentioned in this connexion, is an edition of the letters addressed by him to Martin Luther, with Luther's own letter. This was printed by Pynson in 1527.

The mention of Henry VIII. and of the religious feuds of his reign, reminds one of the name of good Sir Thomas More, one or two of whose books may here be specified. One, of some degree of rarity, is his *Epistola ad Germanum Brixium* (Pynson, 1520), a reply to the attacks which his epigrams on Germain de Brie had

brought upon him. Of a different character from this is the "Supplycacyon of soulys, agaynst the supplycacyon of beggars" (Rastell, probably 1529), made while More was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Bound up in the same volume with this is his dialogue (in the edition of 1531), "wheryn be treatyd dyvers maters, as of the veneracyon and worshyp of ymagys and relyques, &c." The same volume also contains More's "Confutacyon of Tindale's answer" (Rastell, 1532). Strange that these two men, both so noble and good, should have suffered death, and on grounds of religion, by the order of the same tyrant.

A printer whose productions are not very commonly met with is John Skot, who began to print in 1521. Skot used the device of Denis Roce, the Parisian printer, but with his own name below, and his monogram on the shield. Two little books printed by him, without date, shew the intensity and bitterness of religious party feeling by the middle of the reign of Henry VIII. The former of these is Jasper Fyloll's invective "Agaynst the possessyons of the Clergye." The other, yet more bitter, is the "Enormytees usyd by the Clergy, and by some wryters theyr adherentis," how they "causeles have sklenderously spoken agayns this noble realme of Englande, and agayns dyvers of the Kynges lay subiectes."

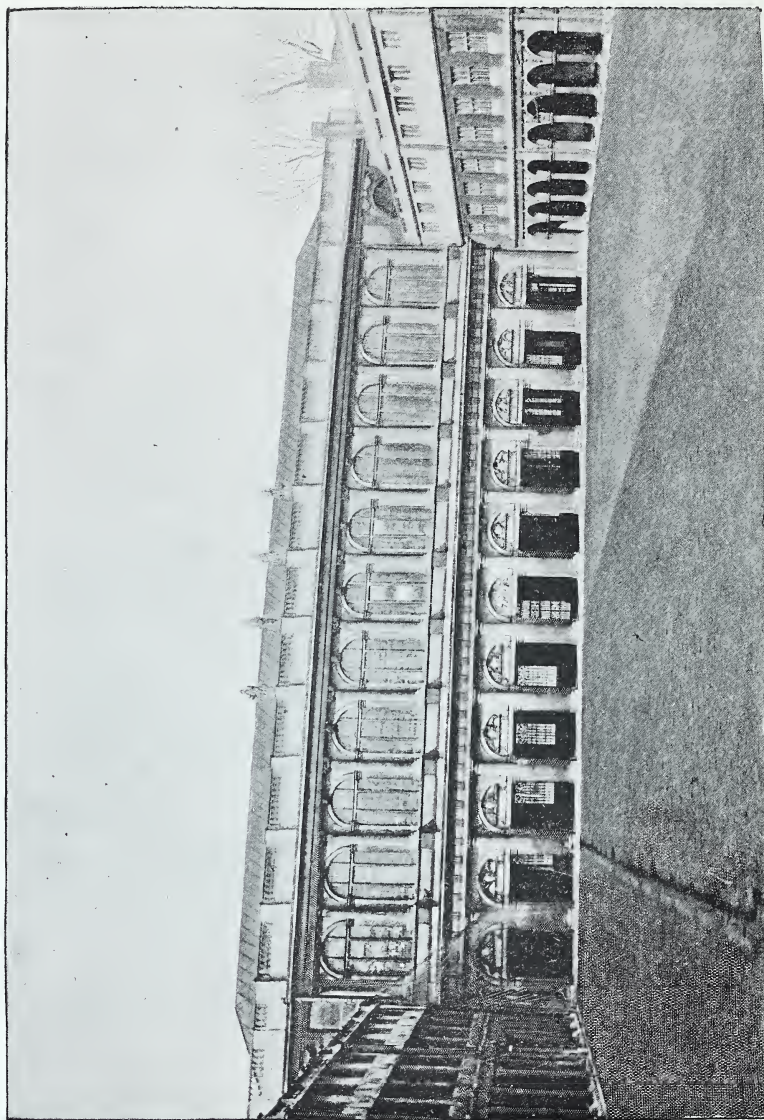
The question of the king's divorce produced a large mass of misapplied learning. Among this may be mentioned the *Kotser Codicis* of Robert Wakfeld, the famous Oriental scholar; and "the determinations of the moste famous...universities of Italy and Fraunce, that it is so unfeull for a man to marie his brothers wyfe, that the pope hath no power to dispence therwith," printed by Berthelet in 1531. Herbert (p. 418) gives the date Nov. 7, 1530, but the copy now before me is dated Nov. 7, 1531; and from the identity in the day and month, Herbert is probably in error. Curiously enough, the Grenville copy is dated Nov. 7, but with no year.

Passing to the next generation, I will single out a curious collection of tracts by Thomas Norton, printed by John Day in or about 1569. This Norton, M.P. for the City of London, and the first to hold the office of Remembrancer, was one of those concerned in the atrocious cruelties inflicted on various unfortunate Roman Catholics in the Tower. It was not a very satisfactory answer to the charge against him that he had boasted that he had stretched a priest, named Alexander Briant, a foot longer than God had made him, to maintain that he had merely threatened that if Briant would not tell the truth, "he should be made a foot longer than God made him." The volume of tracts to which I have referred was evidently put together and bound in the

latter part of the sixteenth century, in what was once an exceedingly rich and handsome binding. In the midst of the tooling on the sides are the initials "E. A.," which I regret to be unable to identify. The book is one of those bequeathed to the Library by John Laughton (Librarian of Trinity College, 1669-73). Of the tracts in question two refer to the rising of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in 1569; one the address "To the Quenes Majesties poore deceived subiectes of the North Countrey" (Binneman, 1569); and the other "A warning agaynst the dangerous practises of Papistes, and specially the parteners of the late Rebellion" (J. Day, s.a., but 1569). Of this latter there were two distinct issues from Day's press; the most noticeable variation being that on the *verso* of the title-page, which in the earlier edition is blank, we find in the second, "The summe of all this Booke. We can not well spare our Queene Elizabeth." Besides these are three short tracts on the publication of the Pope's bull at that time: (1) "A Bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Harding and other"; (2) "A disclosing of the great Bull and certain calves that he hath gotten, and specially the Monster Bull that roared at my Lord Byshops gate"; (3) "An addition declaratorie to the Bulles, with a searching of the Maze." Of this last there were two issues, different from one another in numerous

small points of detail. The remaining contents of the volume are three tracts in connexion with Mary, Queen of Scots: (1) Buchanan's "Ane Detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, touchand the murder of hir husband"; (2) "The copie of a letter written by one in London to his frend concernyng the credit of the late published detection of the doynge of the Ladie Marie of Scotland"; (3) "A discourse touching the pretended match betwene the Duke of Norfolke and the Quene of Scottes."

A writer who did a great deal towards increasing the polemic literature of the sixteenth century was John Bale, "foul-mouthed Bale" as he has often, and with only too much justice, been called. Bale was one of those with whom his adversary was necessarily a person to be vilified. His life was a troublous one. During the last years of Henry VIII. he settled in the Netherlands, and returned to England on the accession of Edward VI., who in 1552 appointed him Bishop of Ossory. The accession of Mary, however, again drove him abroad, until her death enabled him once more to return to England. I shall now refer to some of his works in the College Library. One of these, though not in form polemic, contains a plentiful infusion of the polemic spirit, his *Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum....Summarium*. This, though often spoken of as



THE LIBRARY FROM NEVILE'S COURT.

To face p. 105.

printed at Ipswich, by John Overton, in 1548-9, was really, it cannot be doubted, printed at Wesel (a town north of Dusseldorf and close to the confluence of the Rhine and the Lippe), copies being brought over to England with Overton's name in the imprint at the end ("excusum fuit Gippeswici in Anglia per Jo. Overton"), though he was merely the bookseller. It may be noted that in the copy described by Herbert (p. 1456), the imprint below the woodcut on the title-page ran "excudebatur præsens opus Wesaliæ per Theodoricum Plateanum," but in the copy now before me the names are suppressed and instead is a lengthening of the statement as to the date "anno a nativitate unicæ illius pro peccatis victimæ..."

A book which no lover of the Reformation can read without shame and disgust is the "Actes of Englysh votaryes, comprehendynge theyr unchast practyses and examples by all ages, from the worldes begynnynge to thys present yeare, collected out of their owne legendes and Chronycles." This, unfortunately, was greedily read, and thus was several times reprinted. Of this we possess a copy of the original edition, printed at Wesel in 1546. Of this there are also two reprints; one is that printed by Thomas Raynalde in 1548, our copy of which has been bound up with the introduction to the first part and the whole of the second part of the "Actes" of the

edition printed for Abraham Vele in 1551, the other (of both parts) is that printed by John Tysdale in 1560.

"A brefe Chronycle concernynge the Examinacyon and death of the blessed martyr of Christ syr Johan Oldcastell the lorde Cobham," in an edition of the year 1544, without place of printing (though not improbably this was Marburg) or printer's name, is of considerable rarity; the later editions seem more common. Another curious book of Bale's is his "Apology agaynste a ranke Papyst, aunswering both hym and hys doctours, that neyther their vowes nor yet their priesthode are of the Gospell, but of Antichrist," printed by Day (without a date, but not before 1550), and to be sold "at his shop by the lytle Conduit in Chepesyde." A curious little point about this book is that on the *verso* of the last leaf (the imprint having been on the *recto*) there comes abruptly, as though a fresh title, "A dyspatche of vowes and presthode, by the wurd of God. Compyled by Johan Bale." This has led sometimes to the mistaken notion that this is a promise of something forthcoming (see, *e.g.*, *Catalogue of the Huth Library*, vol. I. p. 82, "but no such treatise follows, the heading being all that seems to have been set up"). While, however, the *verso* of the last leaf is a curious place to put the notice, the reference is simply to the foregoing treatise (see fol. 148, *verso*).

Other works of Bale of some rarity are the following :—(1) “A dialoge or Communycacyon to be had at a Table betwene two chyldren, gathered out of the holy scriptures by Johan Bale, for his two yonge sonnes Johan and Paule,” printed in 1549 for Richard Foster in “Fletestrete at the signe of the Croune, next vnto the Whyte Fryres gate.” (2) “The Ymage of both Churches after the Revelacion of Saincte John the Evangelyst,” printed by John Wyer in 1550. (3) “The vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande, his persecucions in the same, and finall delyveraunce.” The imprint of this volume declares it to have been printed “in Rome, before the castell of S. Angell, at y^e signe of S. Peter, in Decembre Anno D. 1553.” It was, however, it would seem, printed by Hugh Singleton. (4) The only other work of Bale which I need mention here is “The laboryouse Journey and serche of Johan Leylande [Leland] for Englandes Antiquitees, geven of hym as a newe yeares gyfte to Kynge Henry the viij,” printed in 1549.

Another set of polemical works, to which a curious interest attaches, and of which a fair number are here, are the tracts of the Marprelate controversy. As original copies of these tracts are not commonly met with, I annex a list of those in the College Library :—

(1) (John Udall.) “A Demonstration of the trueth

of that Discipline which Christe hath prescribed in his worde for the gouernement of his Church." Secretly printed at East Molesey in July, 1588.

(2) "Oh read ouer D. John Bridges, for it is a worthy worke...Printed oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bousing Priest [The Epistle]." Secretly printed at East Molesey in October, 1588.

(3) "Oh read ouer D. John Bridges, for it is worthy worke;...Printed on the other hand of some of the Priests [The Epitome]." Secretly printed at Fawsley in Northamptonshire in November or December, 1588.

(4) John Penry, "A viewe of some part of such publike wants and disorders as are in the seruice of God, within her Maiesties countrie of Wales.".....Secretly printed at Coventry before March 9, 1589.

(5) "Hay any worke for Cooper;... Printed in Europe not farre from some of the Bousing Priestes." Published about March 23, 1589. This was designed to answer Bishop Cooper's "Admonition to the People of England."

(6) "Theses Martinianae." Secretly printed at Wolston near Coventry and published about July 22, 1589.

(7) "The iust censure and reproofe of Martin Iunior"; secretly printed at Wolston near Coventry, and published about July 29, 1589.

Besides these are several of the answers which these calumnious tracts called forth, whether of grave sort, as the "Admonition" mentioned above and the "Antimartinus, sive monitio cujusdam Londinensis ad adoloscenscentes utriusque Academiae" (Bishop and Newbery, 1589), or of the same style as the tracts they answered:—

(1) "Martin's Months minde...", 1589.

(2) "Pappe with an hatchet." About September, 1589.

(3) "The Returne of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquill of England, from the other side the Seas," 1589.

(4) "The Firste parte of Pasquil's Apologie," 1590.

The question of the authorship of the Marprelate Tracts must still be considered to remain doubtful. Professor Arber maintains the real Martinists to have been John Penry and Job Throckmorton, while Dr Dexter urges the claims of Henry Barrow. The underlying basis of the Epistle is confessedly Udall's. The tracts written on the other side are generally attributed to the caustic pen of Thomas Nash, of St John's College, Cambridge.

A very few examples more must suffice.

Here is a little volume, which save for a rather larger number of fly-leaves than usual, consists of three torn leaves only, yet this tiny fragment, discovered about thirty years ago, is not only, so far as is yet

known, unique, but (save for some other torn fragments, since discovered in a private collection) is absolutely the only direct evidence that the work of which it forms a part was ever printed. The work in question is an old English poem, *Generydes*, which has been edited by Mr Aldis Wright for the Early English Text Society from a Gale MS. (unique as to its particular form of the text) in the Library.

The printed fragments originally served as fly-leaves to a book which once belonged to Edmund Castell, the Oriental scholar, Mich. Menoti *Sermones Quadragesimales* (Paris, 1525). The approximate date of the fragments may be given as about 1520-5. This will follow from the fact that they were clearly used as fly-leaves when the book from which they were taken was originally bound. Besides the date of printing of that book, it may be added that on the sides of the binding are stamped the Royal Arms of England, surrounded by the garter and *Honi soit...* On one side are the rose and fleur-de-lis, and on the other, the castle and pomegranate, for Castile and Granada. The whole is surrounded by the legend, "Deus det nobis suam pacem, et post mortem vitam æternam. Amen." This device was commonly used in English binding while Catherine of Arragon was queen.

In Professor Arber's *Transcript of the Register of the*

Company of Stationers (I. 179), we find among the licences for 1568-9, "Recevyd of *thomas purfoote* for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled *Generydes*, iiij*d*." This, however, is far too late a date for our fragments; and Purfoot's edition, if it were actually published, has totally disappeared.

Another work, which has already been referred to in passing, and of which I know of no other copy save our own, is the "Godly Psalme of Marye Queene," by Richard Beecard. This hymn, which consists of forty-four four-line stanzas, with accompanying music in four parts, is a very fervent expression of rejoicing at the accession of Mary. The first verse runs:—

"Al England now bee glad at ones,
With one heart, mynde, and voyce :
For now have wee y^e greatest cause
To syng and eke rejoyce."

Beecard's hymn is followed by "a godly Psalme in meetre," by T. B. (Thomas Bownell), consisting of a metrical version of Psalms cxlv., cxlvi., and cxlviii. The book was printed in 1553 by Wylliam Griffith, "in Fleete-strete, at the sygne of the Faucon against saint Donstons Church." I notice that Lowndes (p. 145, ed. Bohn) gives 1557 as the date of this book. Unless there was a reprint, which is not very probable, this date is an error.

Here is a volume by no means commonly met with,

the quarto edition of some of the works of Sir David Lyndsay, Lyon King of Arms, printed "at the command and expenses of Maister Samuel Jascuy" at Paris in 1558. The volume contains "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour," "The Testament and complaynt of our souverane lordis papyngo, Kyng James the Fyft," "The Dreame," and "The Tragedie of the unqhyle Maister Reverende Fader David, be the mercy of God, Cardinal and Archibyschope of Sanctandrous." The second of these does not seem to be absolutely the same with that described in the Huth catalogue, p. 884.

A much more general interest, however, will doubtless be felt in this tiny volume, a 16mo edition of Bacon's *Essays*, printed in 1597. This is quite different from what is ordinarily spoken of as the first edition of the *Essays*, a small octavo published in the same year. I do not venture to say which is the earlier of the two; there are errors of the press which occur in one but not in the other, and there are others which are found in both. It is by no means impossible that the two may have been "set up" at the same time by two compositors working independently.

In conclusion, a couple of books may be mentioned which have respectively a Welsh and a Scotch interest.

The former is a copy of what is, so far as I am aware, the first Welsh grammar ever printed, and a book of

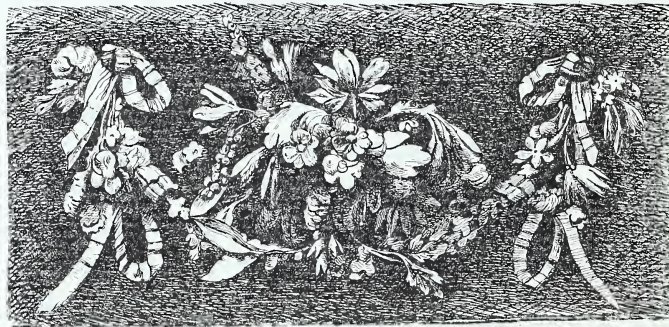
extreme rarity, the *Gramadeg Cymraeg* of Griffith Roberts, printed in 1567. It is customary to ascribe it to a Milan press; William Maurice, the Welsh antiquary, having noted in his copy of the book, which was afterwards at Wynnstay, "printed at Milan." This, however, must be considered as by no means certain. It is interesting to note that in Munday's *English Romaine Life*, printed in 1590, the narrator, being on a journey to Rome, states that he was entertained at Milan by Dr Robert Griffin (*sic*), confessor to Cardinal Frederick Borromeo. There are some curious differences in the spelling of this book from what we are accustomed to in more modern Welsh; for example, for the familiar *dd*, *ll* and *w* we find here *d*, *l*, and *u*, with a dot placed below.

If the Welsh book were nearly unique, we come in the case of the Scotch one to what is absolutely unique, so far as is yet known. We have here a volume of tracts on Scotch subjects collected by Dr Duport, once Fellow of the College and afterwards Master of Magdalene College and Dean of Peterborough, and by him given to the Library. Among these are two of which no other copy is known to exist, both of which issued from the press of Robert Lekprevik in Edinburgh in 1565.

One of these is an edition of a work of Lelio Capilupi of Mantua, which has been several times printed, his *Cento ex Vergilio de Vita Monachorum*. This is a collec-

tion of fragments of Virgil worked up to form a continuous poem on a subject of which Virgil himself assuredly never dreamed. The other tract is a collection of pasquils collected from different authors. One cannot but confess to a feeling of decided regret that unique books are so often of so little intrinsic importance.

The rare early English books which form the Capell collection are of such great interest and value that they must be treated of in a separate chapter.



CHAPTER VI.

THE CAPELL COLLECTION.

NO account of Trinity Library would be at all complete which did not contain some description of the large and precious collection of early editions of Shakspeare and of other early English plays and poems given to the College by Mr Edward Capell in 1779.

We must first refer in the briefest possible terms to the donor himself. He was the son of a Suffolk clergyman, and was born near Bury St Edmunds in 1713. He was educated at the Grammar School in that town and afterwards at Catharine Hall, Cambridge.

All through his life his interests were bound up with things Shakspearian, and he gradually amassed a collection of Shakspeare quartos, and of rare works of the Elizabethan and immediately succeeding period, such as in the present day would be practically impossible to the longest purse and the keenest hunter.

He brought out in 1768 an edition of Shakspeare's works in ten volumes, and is said to have transcribed the whole ten times. In 1779, two years before his

death, he gave, as I have already said, his unrivalled collection of books to the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and determined that no precaution should be neglected for its safe preservation.

The outcome of this is seen in the following order of the Master and Seniors, dated June 26th, 1779:—

“Ordered at the same time, agreeably to the express desire of Mr Capel (*sic*), that the whole collection given by him be kept together in the same class, and that no manuscript or book belonging to it be taken out of the Library on any pretence whatever.”

J. PETERBOROUGH, M. C.¹

The Capell Collection includes 256 volumes, in very many cases several distinct works being bound together in a volume. Judging of Mr Capell's literary views in the light of his collection, one must credit him with a definiteness, I could almost say, narrowness of view, that might have won the approval of the Caliph Omar himself. Apparently books might be divided into editions of Shakspeare, books illustrative of Shakspeare, and others, which last might be disregarded. Accordingly, we find the startling phenomenon of such books as Chaucer's *Works*, or Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, or Beaumont and Fletcher's *Plays*, or Milton's *Paradise Lost*, or Hakluyt's *Voyages*, all lettered “Shakesperiana.” Clearly

¹ This is Dr John Hinchcliffe, Master of Trinity College, 1768–89; and Bishop of Peterborough 1769–94.

they had no literary interest for their possessor save in so far as they were illustrative of the one great dramatist.

We must pass on now to speak in some little detail of the contents of this rich collection.

Of the four folio editions of Shakspeare (1623, 1632, 1664, 1685) we are the fortunate possessors of two complete sets, due to Mr Capell and Mr Grylls respectively. The third edition, as is well known, came out originally in 1663 without the seven spurious plays, which were added in 1664, a fresh title-page being furnished which enumerated the plays in question. Both the copies in the Library are of the issue containing the seven plays. I may here correct an error in Bohn's *Lowndes* (p. 2258, col. 2), where it is stated that the Capell copy has both title-pages. It has that of 1664 only, with the portrait, but immediately before sig. b is the leaf with Ben Jonson's verses in large type on the *verso*.

It is to the quartos, however, that both the student and the collector will turn with especial interest. As the number of these in the Library is considerable, and a detailed account would be unsuitable in the case of books so minutely described elsewhere, I have thought it best merely to give a list of such quartos as are here of dates prior to the issue of the first folio edition of 1623.

The plays are arranged in alphabetical order:—

Hamlet, 1605, 1611 (title wanting).

Henry IV. (First Part), 1598, 1599, 1604 (imperfect), 1613, 1622.

Henry IV. (Second Part), 1600.—This is a copy of the issue in which sig. E has four leaves.

Henry V., 1600, 1602, 1608.—Here may be mentioned, though it has no real connexion with the play of Shakspeare, a play which runs in a similar groove, "*The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*. Containing the Honorable Battell of Agin-Court.....Imprinted by Barnard Alsop, dwelling in Garter Place in Barbican. 1617."

Henry VI. (Second Part).—This play first appeared in an authentic form in the folio edition of 1623, but of the play on which it was founded there were several earlier editions. We have here the edition of 1600 of *The First Part of the Contention betwixt the two Famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*. The edition of 1619 includes also what, in its authentic form, is known as the Third Part of *Henry VI.* Here we have *The Whole Contention betweene the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke, with the Tragicall End of the Good Duke Humfrey, Richard Duke of Yorke, and King Henrie the Sixt*. This edition of the play is not dated, but we are able to fix the date by the fact that it merely forms part

of a book, sig. A—Q 4, and with sig. R begins *Pericles*, without a title-page, which has the date 1619 at the end. With regard to the edition of 1600 I will take this opportunity to correct an error in *Lowndes* (p. 2281, col. 2): the Capell copy is that printed “by Valentine Simmes for Thomas Millington,” not that printed “by W. W. for Thomas Millington.” It seems, indeed, to be uncertain whether such an edition as the latter really exists. At any rate, there is no edition here save that of Valentine Simmes; and the case as to a copy in the Bodleian falls to the ground when it appears that the title is in MS., and that it presents the same typographical peculiarities as the edition by Valentine Simmes.

King John.—Of this play there was no edition till that in the folio of 1623. A play, however, which Shakespeare drew upon for the plot and characters is *The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn, King of England, with the Discouerie of King Richard Cordelions*. Of this we possess editions of 1591, 1611, 1622. On the title-page of the first no author's name is given, in the second it is given as W. Sh., and in the third as W. Shakespeare.

King Lear, 1608.—Of this play there are two different editions, both bearing the above date, and both “printed for Nathaniel Butter.” The author's name is given as Shakespeare and Shake-speare respectively;

and while the latter merely gives the publisher's name, the former notes that copies are to be sold "at his shop in Paul's Churchyard, at the signe of the Pide Bull." Remarks on the numerous differences in the various existing copies of the first-named issue will be found in the introduction to the play in the Cambridge Shakespeare.

Love's Labour's Lost, 1598.

Merchant of Venice, 1600.—There are two editions of the play of this date, printed "by J. Roberts" and "by I. R. for Thomas Heyes" respectively.

Merry Wives of Windsor, 1602, 1619.

Midsummer Night's Dream, 1600.—There are two editions of the play of this date, one "printed by James Roberts," and the other "Imprinted.....for Thomas Fisher." The latter is probably the first edition, as it contains errors which have been corrected in the other.

Much Ado about Nothing, 1600.

Othello, 1622.

Pericles, 1609, 1619.

Richard II., 1597, 1598, 1615.

Richard III., 1598, 1602, 1612, 1622.

Romeo and Juliet, 1597, 1609.—The foundation of this play is a poem, copies of which are of extreme rarity: "*The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Iuliet, written first in Italian by Bandell and now in Englishe*

by *Ar[thur] Br[oke]*." The first edition of this was printed by Richard Tottell in 1562. Our copy of this unfortunately wants the first three leaves; perfect copies are in the Bodleian and in the Huth collection.

Titus Andronicus, 1611.

Troilus and Cressida, 1609.

Besides these quarto editions of the genuine, or at any rate of the generally recognized, plays of Shakspeare, we have a series of doubtful or spurious plays, a list of which I subjoin, omitting any edition later than 1623:—

Arraignment of Paris, 1584.

Edward III., 1596, 1599.

Lochrine, 1595.

The London Prodigal, 1605.

Lord Cromwell, 1613.

The Merry Devill of Edmonton, 1608, 1617.

Mucedorus, 1610.

Sir John Oldcastle, The First Part of, &c., 1600.

The Puritaine; or, the Widdow of Watling Street, 1607.

Yorkshire Tragedie, 1619.

Finally, a few rare editions of the Shakspearian poems may be mentioned. Of the *Venus and Adonis* the only edition here is that of 1620, of which, so far as I am aware, the Bodleian copy is the only other one

known. Of *Lucrece* we possess editions of 1598 and 1607, the former being as yet the only copy known. Of the *Sonnets* is a copy (unfortunately imperfect) of the edition of 1609. Of the *Passionate Pilgrim* is a copy of the first edition of 1599, which was believed to be unique until the discovery in 1867 of a second copy at Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, the seat of Sir Charles Isham. The poem, except in the case of the last three leaves, is printed on one side only of the leaf.

When it is remembered that the number of copies known of the least rare of the above books may, as a rule, be counted on one's fingers, and that some are of extreme rarity, a concise list as given above of one particular set of our treasures may, I trust, not be considered out of place.

Spenser is well represented. Of the *Faerie Queene* is the first edition of both parts in two volumes, 1590-1596, and the second edition of the whole work, 1596. The *Shepheardes Calendar* occurs in the editions of 1579, 1581, 1586, 1591, the first of which is of the greatest rarity. The *Complaints* (1591), *Protopopoeia* (1591), *Colin Clout* (1595), and *Amoretti* (1595) may also be mentioned, all published by William Ponsonby.

A very few more examples must suffice. Of none of the following books is there, so far as I am aware, any other copy known than that now before me. Here is

Thomas Howell's *Newe Sonets and pretie Pamphlets*, printed by Thomas Colwell in Fleet Street, at the sign of St John the Evangelist. The book is undated, but it cannot have been printed before 1567-8, in which year it was licensed to Thomas Colwell, as we see from the Register of the Company of Stationers (Arber's *Transcript*, I. 358).

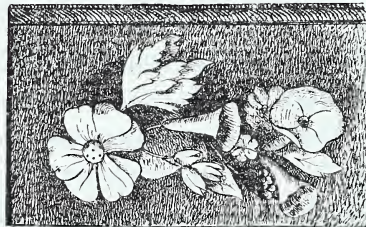
Unique too are Ulpian Fulwell's *First part of the eight liberall science*, printed by William Hoskins in 1576; and *The Mirrour of Mirth and Pleasant Conceits*, Englished from the original French of Bonadventure de Periers by a translator who only gives his initials R. D., and printed by Roger Warde in 1583.

Much more generally interesting than these, however, is *The Hystorie of Hamblet*, printed by Richard Bradocke in 1608; the story on which Shakspeare's tragedy, and perhaps an earlier play, is founded. Seeing, however, that there is an edition of the play as early as 1603, it is clear that at least one earlier edition of the prose romance, perhaps several, must have perished.

The only other book to which I shall refer is the unique copy of what is undoubtedly the first edition of a book which once had a very wide-spread popularity in England, *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit*, by John Lyly; and that in spite of what Sir Walter Scott calls "the

most unnatural affectation that ever disgraced a printed page." Who does not recall Sir Piercie Shafton and his lament—"Ah, that I had with me my *Anatomy of Wit*—that all-to-be-unparalleled volume—that quintessence of human wit—that treasury of quaint invention—that exquisitely-pleasant-to-read, and inevitably-necessary-to-be-remembered manual, of all that is worthy to be known."

This book was licensed to Gabriel Cawood on Dec. 2, 1578, and no less than three editions of it appeared in the course of 1579. The Capell copy, however, is certainly of the first edition, as is shewn by the fact that on the title-page of one of the others, in the Malone Collection in the Bodleian, appear the words "corrected and augmented"; and though of the remaining edition there is, I believe, only one copy lacking its title-page, yet a collation of it with our edition shews a large number of augmentations, some of them considerable, occurring in the former.





THORWALDSEN'S STATUE OF LORD BYRON.

To face p. 125.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BYRON STATUE.

TO many visitors Thorwaldsen's statue of Lord Byron at the end of the Library is an object of interest, which vies even with the choicest of our literary treasures. Indeed, I once took into the Library two American ladies, who assured me that they had come from London to Cambridge for no other purpose than to see the statue: they certainly paid not the least attention to anything else in the Library.

Some years ago, the kindness of Mr C. De la Pryme, of Trinity College, put in my hands some interesting correspondence with reference to the statue, together with a short running narrative to connect the letters together. The keen interest yet felt in Byron, the exceeding beauty of the statue, and the curious fortune which led to its finding its present home, will, I think, justify the reproduction of the correspondence *in extenso*.

I have added nothing to Mr De la Pryme's narrative, but have condensed slightly here and there.

In May, 1829, a meeting was held of the subscribers to the fund raised for the purpose of erecting a statue to Lord Byron. The chairman, Sir John Cam Hobhouse, M.P. (afterwards Lord Broughton; M.A., of Trinity College), was commissioned to write to Baron Thorwaldsen, requesting him to undertake the work. The two following letters were consequently addressed to the sculptor:—

Sir John Cam Hobhouse to Baron Thorwaldsen.

Londres, ce 22 Mai, 1829.

MONSIEUR,—Comme président du comité des souscripteurs pour le monument de Lord Byron, je prends la liberté de vous demander si nous pouvons nous flatter de l'espérance d'avoir un ouvrage de votre façon.

Vous avez bien connu Lord Byron, et le buste, maintenant chez moi, ressemble parfaitement à la figure de ce grand poète.

Le comité a déterminé que le monument consistera d'une seule statue de la grandeur ordinaire, c'est à dire, de huit pieds environ, placée sur un piédestal assez simple dans l'église métropolitaine de Londres, ou dans l'Abbaye de Westminster. Nos fonds ne sont pas encore considérables, et ce que j'ose vous demander, c'est, si mille livres sterling (1000*l.*) seront suffisantes pour la dépense d'un tel ouvrage.

Je parle de la statue seule, car les frais de port, de la douane, du piédestal, &c., monteront à 500*l.* davantage.

Il y a peu de mois que j'étois à Rome, quand j'ai laissé ma carte de visite à votre porte, mais je n'ai pas eu la bonheur de vous voir. J'espère, Monsieur, que vous me ferez l'honneur d'une réponse à cette lettre, et je suis, avec la considération la plus parfaite,

Votre serviteur très-humble,

JOHN C. HOBHOUSE.

Sir John Cam Hobhouse to Baron Thorwaldsen.

Londres, ce 24 Nov., 1829.

M. LE CHEVALIER,—La première séance du comité des souscripteurs à la statue monumentale de Lord Byron a eu lieu le vendredi passé. Je leur ai lu votre lettre, et ils m'ont chargé de vous faire part de leurs sentiments très profonds de reconnaissance pour la sympathie généreuse et la rare libéralité qui ont dicté votre offre de nous donner la statue et même d'y ajouter un bas-relief, pour les mille livres sterling—somme, à la vérité, pas proportionnée au travail proposé.

Nous avons appris, avec un plaisir infini, votre intention de vous mettre au plus vite à un ouvrage digne, comme il sera, du plus grand poète et du premier sculpteur du siècle. Peut-être, Monsieur, quand vous en aurez déterminé le modèle, vous aurez la bonté, si cela n'est pas hors d'usage, de nous le communiquer, afin que nous puissions démontrer aux souscripteurs et au public, que nous avons fait notre devoir. La statue sera placée ou dans l'Abbaye de Westminster, ou dans la grande Cathédrale de St Paul, ou au Musée Britannique, ou à la Galerie Nationale.

Vous verrez parmi les membres du comité les noms les plus distingués de l'Angleterre. Mr Louis Chiaveri en a la liste. Comme amis de leur patrie, du poète et de l'art, ils vous seront à jamais redevables pour le noble dévouement avec lequel vous avez bien voulu vous prêter à leur digne projet.

Je ne sais pas s'il sera nécessaire de vous avertir que le pied droit de Byron était un peu contrefait. Du reste ses proportions étaient belles et grandes, surtout la poitrine et les épaules, comme vous aurez, sans doute, remarqué.

Son portrait, grâce à vos soins, est mieux connu que tout autre au monde. J'en ai l'original de votre main. Les copistes y ont ajouté quelque chose, qui ne me plaît du tout. Je parle de la chevelure trop haute et bouclée, qui lui donne un air de petit-maître et gâte la simplicité de votre buste. Pardonnez, je vous prie, cette

observation, et agrééz, Monsieur, l'assurance de la haute considération avec laquelle je me soussigne

Votre serviteur très-humble,

JOHN C. HOBHOUSE.

Baron Thorwaldsen accepted the offer for the statue, and on its completion it was sent over to England and offered to the authorities of Westminster Abbey. The then Dean, however, Dr Ireland, refused admission to the statue, and it consequently lay for many years in the Custom House vaults. Shortly before Dean Ireland's death it occurred to Mr De la Pryme that a place might be found for the statue in Trinity College, and he accordingly wrote to this effect to Dr Peacock (the senior tutor of the College, and afterwards Dean of Ely). This produced the following letter:

Trinity College, 17 March, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I should much rejoice to see the statue of Lord Byron placed in our Museum or in Trinity College, but I hardly know in what manner I can forward any application: I should be afraid to propose it to our Master, who has no sympathy with such schemes of doing honour to the great. I have little doubt, however, that if any person would interest himself about it, and make an offer of the statue, either to one body or the other, that it would be accepted with gratitude. To whom should the application be made, and who has the power of deciding upon it? Without a knowledge of these particulars it would be impossible for any person here to act.

I shall be very happy to hear further on this subject from you, and most anxious to forward the adoption of your suggestion by any means in my power.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

GEORGE PEACOCK.

To C. De la Pryme, Esq.

In consequence of this letter the matter rested for a time, but in 1842 Dean Ireland was succeeded by Dr Turton, afterwards Bishop of Ely, and the statue was a second time refused admittance into the Abbey. In April, 1843, Mr De la Pryme heard from Mr Crabb Robinson that there would be a meeting of the subscribers in London on the subject, and at once wrote to Dr Whewell, who had succeeded Dr Wordsworth as Master of Trinity. To this Dr Whewell replied as follows :

Trinity Lodge, 12 April, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—I conceive that Cambridge is much obliged to you for wishing that we should possess the statue you speak of; but I fear there are great difficulties. To purchase it from the University chest is not to be thought of. We are too poor, to say nothing of other difficulties. The Fitzwilliam Fund could not be so applied, at any rate till the building is finished, a period not very near at hand. The only chance is that some person or set of persons should purchase the work and give it to the University. If you think a subscription to this effect could be got up, I should be glad to do all in my power to facilitate the reception of the gift, which would certainly be a noble ornament to the University. For this purpose I should suppose your first step must be to

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ascertain what sum would be required. But this I must leave to your consideration.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

C. De la Pryme, Esq.

W. WHEWELL.

As Dr Whewell was clearly under the impression that the proposal was to purchase the statue, an explanation was sent of the circumstances, and the following letter received in reply:—

Trinity Lodge, 14 April, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—Upon the terms you mention, it would be very desirable indeed to have the statue obtained for Cambridge if possible. I should be very glad to make application on the part of the Fitzwilliam Museum, but I think I must also put in a petition on behalf of Lord Byron's College, and leave the subscribers, or their committee, to decide between the two applicants.

I enclose, along with this, a petition on the part of the College, and shall be much obliged if you will present it in the proper quarter without delay.

I cannot make application on the part of the Fitzwilliam Museum without calling the syndicate together; which I will do as soon as I can. When I have done this, I will state their claims to the subscribers, if I am authorised to do so, as fairly as I can: at the same time it must not be forgotten that, at any rate, it will be several years before the statue can be placed in the Fitzwilliam Museum. The interior work is not yet begun.

I shall be much obliged if you will let me know what is the size of the statue; and also who are the committee for disposing of it, and of this committee who are the most active members.

I am, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

C. De la Pryme, Esq.

W. WHEWELL.

Accompanying this letter was a memorial for presentation to the subscribers. Accordingly, Mr De la Pryme and his father (formerly Professor of Political Economy in the University, and M.P. for the town of Cambridge) saw Lord Broughton (an old Parliamentary friend of the latter), and secured his good wishes and co-operation as chairman; and a vote of presentation of the statue to Trinity College was passed by the subscribers.

Some years ago Mr De la Pryme wrote to the late Dean Stanley, to ask if he could throw any further light upon the subject of the refusal, and received a reply which is interesting even in its negative information as to the Archives of the Dean and Chapter, and has a further interest as being one of the last letters written by the late Dean in his official capacity.

Deanery, Westminster, March 1, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR,—All the information I have about Byron is contained in p. 301 of my book on Westminster Abbey, Edition 4.

Dean Ireland refused the interment. I do not know who refused the statue, as I have not got the date of the debate in the House of Lords referred to. There are no minutes or letters on the subject. Many thanks for the enclosure.

I am faithfully yours,

A. P. STANLEY.

C. De la Pryme, Esq.

To this correspondence Mr De la Pryme has subjoined the following particulars as to the statue itself,

which was modelled at Rome in 1831, taken from the *Life of Thorwaldsen*.—

“The Poet, in modern costume, is seated upon the ruins of some Greek columns. His head is uncovered. He holds in his hand his poem *Childe Harold*, and raises towards his chin his left hand, holding a pen. On one side of the Greek fragment is ΔΘΗΝΗ with the owl; on the other, Apollo’s lyre and a gryphon. A Death’s head is upon the broken column. The bas-relief represents the Genius of Poetry, who tunes his lyre, and rests his foot upon the prow of a skiff.”

In accordance with the wishes of the Committee, Byron was represented in a sitting posture. In addition to a small sketch of the statue, there are two plaster models in the Thorwaldsen Museum at Copenhagen. The attitude of the first, which was not executed, is somewhat different. The plaster, and a repetition in marble of the bas-relief, are also in the Museum.

One might linger indefinitely over the precious contents of any great library. MSS. of classical authors or of Holy Scripture, illuminated mediæval MSS., testifying to the pious zeal of our forefathers—all these, while appealing specially to different groups of experts, awaken intelligent interest in all educated people. No

less interesting, too, in its way, is the study of *incunabula*, with the light they throw on the social history of each country, to say nothing of that most thorny question, the history of the invention of printing; though, after Mr Hessels's exhaustive essay on Gutenberg, we may as well adopt Mr Blades's humorous suggestion, and say, "Printing never was invented"; it was like Topsy, "it grow'd." Later still we reach the fully developed printed literature, in editions valued for their varied excellence, though I confess to no sympathy with the collector to whom an extra tenth of an inch of height is a fact of supreme importance. Dibdin is very tedious with his talk of margins and large-paper copies.

Still, while the most varied interest is roused by any great collection of books, the associations which cling round an ancient library increase this charm tenfold. To handle books which have been in the hands not of a series of collectors, changing owners from time to time, as the fate of the auction-room willed, but of long generations of scholars of the same ancient house, who constantly enriched the stores of the Library with their own most precious books—this lends an additional charm to so old a library as that which I have now spoken of at such length. One takes into one's hands books doubtless used by good Bishop Fisher, or on which Francis Bacon began his course of omnivorous

reading. Here are books which influenced the poetry of gentle George Herbert and of Dryden; and the latter's own copy of Spenser, with the MS. notes of the later poet, now lies before me.

Before Dryden died the present building had received the old collection, and in this stately room we know that Newton and Cotes, Bentley and Porson, Thirlwall and Hare, Whewell and Sedgwick—mighty names among the mighty dead—made constant and abundant use of the Library.

Passing away, too, from associations such as these to the living present, pleasant it is, leaving the broad staircase, to cross the cloisters and the green lawn beyond, where, and especially in the springtime, the ancient chestnuts, and the lime avenue, and the river flowing idly by, form as fair a setting as any student's home need desire.

THE END.

LIBRARIANS OF TRINITY COLLEGE ON SIR
EDWARD STANHOPE'S FOUNDATION:

1609. William Hickes.
1611. Nicholas Parker.
1625. Peter Hersent.
1631. William Clutterbooke.
1641. Thomas Griffith.
1673. James Manfield¹.
1679. John Laughton².
1682. Thomas Rotheram.
1695. James Banks.
1706. Nicholas Clagett³.
1716. William Chichley⁴.
1716. Edward Peach.
1717. Samuel Doody.
1721. Thomas Bentley.
1729. William Gossip.
1729. Sandys Hutchinson⁵.

¹ University Librarian, 1684-86.

² University Librarian, 1686-1712.

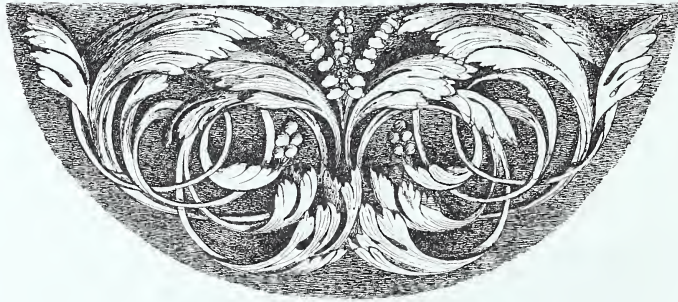
³ Bishop of St David's, 1732-42; of Exeter, 1742-46.

⁴ Appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

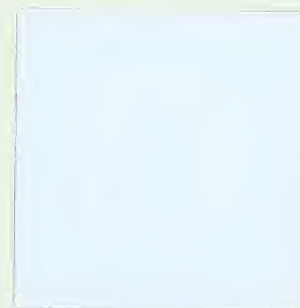
⁵ Appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and subsequently by the Master and Seniors. See Monk's *Life of Bentley*, Vol. II. p. 278, ed. 2.

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1740. Timothy Lee.
1742. Thomas White.
1763. Thomas Green¹.
1788. John Clarke.
1803. Charles Hoyle.
1804. Aldous Edward Henshaw.
1837. Charles Warren.
1840. James Ind Smith.
1845. George Brimley.
1857. Howard Warburton Elphinstone.
1858. John Glover.
1863. William Aldis Wright.
1870. Sedley Taylor.
1871. Robert Sinker.

¹ Professor of Geology, 1778-88.







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